

The Canadian Historical Review

CONTINUING

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896)

Vol. XXVI

September, 1945

No. 3

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Published Quarterly

BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXVI

TORONTO, SEPTEMBER, 1945

No. 3

THE HISTORICAL PROGRAMME OF THE CANADIAN ARMY OVERSEAS

I

A MODERN army and its operations present so complex a problem to the historian that most of the Allied countries engaged in the present war have found it desirable to make special arrangements for recording the work of their forces. The object of this article is to describe briefly the expedients adopted in this respect for the Canadian military forces now operating in the theatre of war in Europe.¹

Canadian experience arising out of the last war gave warrant for concrete measures. The compilation of a history of the Canadian military forces in the War of 1914-19 has proved, exactly as in the case of other combatants, a most long, slow, and complicated undertaking. Only in 1938 was the first volume of the general series of the *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919* published; and the outbreak of the present war has prevented the preparation of further volumes. The initial delay in publication was due to many causes. Among them were the facts that an Official Historian was not specifically appointed until 1932 and that in addition to writing the history the Historical Section, General Staff, was charged with many miscellaneous tasks. A major element of difficulty was, however, the further fact that, although a great deal of invaluable historical material was collected during the last war, no comprehensive attempt was made to utilize it while the war was in progress. The historians of that war, accordingly, have had to work through a tremendous mass of documents and build their narrative from the ground up, a very painful process when carried on long after

¹This article was written in April, 1945, before the conclusion of hostilities in Europe and also before the announcement of the transfer of the 1st Canadian Corps from Italy to Holland. Although the programme has developed considerably during the intervening period, it has not been thought necessary to revise or re-write the article.

the events concerned; while they have suffered the further disadvantage that drafts could be submitted to participants for comment only after their memories of the happenings described had been blurred by the passage of time.

The desirability of new and special arrangements having thus been demonstrated, measures were taken by the Department of National Defence to ensure that on this occasion the groundwork for an official history would be laid before the conclusion of hostilities. Beginning in a very small way, a considerable organization has been gradually developed both in Canada and overseas with this end in view. The present article deals only with the situation overseas; but parallel measures have been adopted in Canada to cover domestic aspects.

II

At the outbreak of the present war there of course existed at National Defence Headquarters the Historical Section, General Staff, which was engaged upon the preparation of the official history of the last war. Under this Section's advice, adequate arrangements were made for ensuring the creation and preservation of records of the new Canadian military effort. In particular, detailed instructions were issued to ensure that every unit and every formation headquarters of the Canadian Army would keep an adequate War Diary of its activities and operations from the moment of mobilization. These War Diaries constitute an almost inexhaustible mine of information both for the Official Historian and for the historians of individual corps and units. Though inevitably somewhat uneven in quality, their general standard has been very satisfactory.

Although the possibility of instituting an overseas Historical Section had been discussed in the very early days of the war, action was not actually taken until after the appointment of Major-General (now General) H. D. G. Crerar as Chief of the General Staff in the summer of 1940. He then made arrangements for the appointment of an Historical Officer at Canadian Military Headquarters, London, and the officer appointed reported for duty there in December, 1940.

The historical work thus initiated in the United Kingdom received from the first the most cordial countenance and encouragement of Lieutenant-General (now General) A. G. L. McNaughton (then commanding the Canadian Corps and subse-

quently commanding the First Canadian Army) and Major-General (now Lieutenant-General) P. J. Montague (then Senior Officer, and now Chief of Staff at Canadian Military Headquarters). Thanks to this, the necessary records were readily made available and all other facilities required were freely given. At every point since that time the highest Army authorities have given unfailing sympathy and support to the work.

In 1942 the appointment at C.M.H.Q. of an Assistant Historical Officer facilitated an extension of the scope of the work. Before that time, the Historical Officer had devoted himself primarily to recording current events, a task rendered easier by the fact that during that period the role of the Canadian Army Overseas was largely static. Now, however, it was possible to undertake the compilation of a detailed record of events beginning in 1939, thus filling the gap resulting from the absence of any historian at C.M.H.Q. in 1939-40.

With the advent in 1943 of protracted large-scale Canadian operations, the historical task grew both larger and more complicated, and it became desirable to arrange for some form of historical organization in the field. Instructions were received from National Defence Headquarters that a narrator should accompany Canadian troops in every major operation. These instructions were first implemented in July, 1943, when an Historical Officer and a War Artist were attached to the 1st Canadian Division for the assault on Sicily. As a result of experience gained in those operations, a Canadian Field Historical Section, a self-contained unit possessing its own transport vehicles and the necessary drivers and clerks, was set up in the Mediterranean area. Subsequently a second Field Historical Section was formed, previous to the invasion of Normandy, for service with the Canadian troops in North-West Europe. An Historical Officer and a War Artist of this Section landed with the 3rd Canadian Division on D-Day.

The organization now consists of the Historical Section attached to the General Staff Branch at Canadian Military Headquarters in the United Kingdom, and a Field Historical Section in each European theatre of war where Canadian troops are operating. In addition, an Historical Officer has been appointed to the personal staff of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief First Canadian Army. The programme as a whole is under the general supervision of the Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q. The organization of the Field Section is such as to provide a team

of an Historical Officer and a War Artist for each Canadian Division engaged in operations.

The duties of Historical Officers in the field include advising formations and units on the maintenance of War Diaries and other historical records, and assisting in the preparation of reports on operations. Their presence has been the means of ensuring the preservation of many valuable records which might otherwise have been destroyed. In addition, they have the task of obtaining at first-hand, by interviews, accounts of important phases of operations which might otherwise be less satisfactorily recorded; and much useful information has been obtained in this way.

The Section at C.M.H.Q., in addition to filing and preserving the great mass of documentary material (including considerably more than 1,000 War Diaries per month) which is received from the field, has the function of reducing this material to preliminary narrative form. This work is done, to a considerable extent, by officers who served with the Field Sections during the operations described; and frequent interchanges are made between the personnel at C.M.H.Q. and those in the field with a view to ensuring as far as possible that the narrators shall have some first-hand knowledge of the events with which they deal. This Section at C.M.H.Q. also maintains liaison with the Historical Section of the War Cabinet Secretariat (which has given most generous co-operation), with the Historical Officers of the other Canadian services, and with other British and Allied Historical authorities within reach, including the Theatre Historian, European Theatre of Operations, U.S. Army.

The personnel of the organization has been drawn from many sources. A number of the officers employed are professional historians (the faculties of at least three Canadian and two American universities being represented), while graduate degrees in history are numerous among them. In general, it has seemed desirable to obtain the services of individuals who combine academic historical training with military experience. On the other hand, some of the most valuable officers in the organization, particularly among those employed in the field, are soldiers claiming no civilian status as historians, who have nevertheless turned their hands to the work with notable success.

The personnel of the Field Sections, officers and other ranks, have shared the discomforts and perils of the fighting troops in theatres of war, and have frequently run heavy risks in the performance of their duty. One valuable life has unhappily

been sacrificed to this work: Captain J. L. Engler, a brilliant graduate of Queen's University, who was serving as Historical Officer with the 2nd Canadian Division, was killed in an encounter with a German outpost near the Antwerp-Turnhout Canal on October 1, 1944. One of the War Artists had a narrow escape from death or capture on the same occasion, but got back to his unit after ten days behind the German lines.

Special arrangements have been made, under the auspices of the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps, for the compilation of a medical history of the Canadian Army in this war. An officer of the Corps has been appointed to superintend this work, and is dividing his time between Canada and overseas.

III

Something must be said of the nature of the writing now being done. It is clear, of course, that it is scarcely possible to write today an actual history for future publication; apart from all other considerations, the "perspective" essential to commentary is not to be had at this time. It is possible, however, to sift the great mass of available documents and (in most cases) to establish and organize the essential facts, thus saving the Official Historian (when one is appointed) tremendous preliminary labour. The procedure followed is to prepare in narrative form a digest of the documentary evidence (supplemented, where gaps appear, by information obtained by consulting the individuals concerned), fully referenced and with all the most important pieces of evidence fully quoted. The man or men who put the history into final form will certainly have to go to the actual War Diaries or files occasionally; it is hoped, however, that the work now being done will relieve them of the necessity for much prolonged investigation of the source material.

In the early stages of the work, the written product consisted primarily of "reports" dealing with limited subjects; sometimes, with specific incidents of which the Historical Officer could write from first-hand knowledge. More recently, the reports have become longer; and they are now primarily studies of documentary evidence. The "report" form is being used, in particular, for narrative accounts of specific operations or series of operations; for example, a succession of long and very carefully documented reports, now almost completed, tells the story of the Canadian share in the Sicilian campaign, while other series

deal with the expedition to Spitsbergen, the Dieppe raid, the operations on the mainland of Italy, and the campaign in North-West Europe beginning June 6, 1944. Work on the latter is still in a preliminary stage.

About the end of 1942 the Section at C.M.H.Q. began compiling a comprehensive "Preliminary Narrative, History of the Canadian Military Forces Overseas," beginning with 1939 and covering all aspects which seemed likely to be important either for the Official Historian or for future confidential official reference. This work is still in progress. Nine chapters, carrying the story well into the year 1941, have been completed in draft and circulated to a few participants for comment; the first five have been revised and given further circulation. These five deal with the original concentration of the Canadians in England, the administrative and other problems encountered there, the proposed employment of Canadian troops in Norway and at Dunkirk, and the actual movement of one brigade group to France in June, 1940, and its withdrawal. The later chapters include a full account of the role of the Canadians in the defence of Britain. Further draft chapters are far advanced. As already noted, important material of dates as late as 1944 is organized in the form of reports. The present plan is to continue the Narrative, incorporating the matter of these reports into it at appropriate points.

These chapters will never be published in the form in which they now exist. Much of the material included in them, particularly on the administrative side, is of limited public interest, although it is considered that it should be available for possible official reference in future. Needless to say, moreover, security considerations would render quite impossible the publication of much of the information contained in these preliminary chapters while hostilities continue.

No attempt has been made to put this Narrative into form suitable for actual publication. It is simply an organized and detailed summary of evidence, upon which the Official Historian of the future can base his story; it is a mine for him to work as he chooses, rejecting material not required (and the principle throughout has been to give *more* detail than he is likely to need) and casting the story into such a literary mould as his terms of reference may demand and his abilities may permit. He will have before him, for his further guidance, the remarks of the participants to whom the Preliminary Narrative is now being

circulated for comment; these will be the more valuable in that they are written while the events concerned are still matters of comparatively recent memory.

In addition to "writing for the files" with a view to future historical purposes, the Historical Section at C.M.H.Q. has, however, had the secondary duty of preparing other material for immediate publication. Officers of the Section have written a number of articles which have been published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal*; and more recently the Section has contributed to a pamphlet series which is being produced with a view to giving the people of Canada more information than it had previously been possible to publish concerning the activity of their army in the present war. This work is, of course, facilitated by the existence of the Narrative and reports, and the booklets are to be illustrated with reproductions of paintings by War Artists and photographs. At the time of writing, arrangements have been completed for the publication of the first of these booklets, "The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1944"; and the second, "From Pachino to Ortona: The Canadian Campaign in Sicily and Italy, 1943," has been written.

IV

The Historical Section is responsible for pictorial as well as written records of the Canadian Army's activities. A group of War Artists are employed and a large body of pictures have been painted recording the work and operations of Canadian troops.

The first steps in this direction overseas were taken in the autumn of 1941, when one soldier-artist was attached to the Historical Section experimentally. Subsequently the Dominion government approved a war art programme covering all three fighting services. As a result of this programme, ten War Artists with the status of commissioned officers have now been appointed to the Canadian Army; nine of these are serving overseas.

The procedure adopted has been to carry artists on the strength of the Field Historical Sections, the normal allotment being two to the Canadian force in Italy and three to that in North-West Europe. The artists work in the field in this manner for limited periods, usually not more than six months, at the end of which they are relieved and return to the United Kingdom, where under studio conditions they can paint more developed

pictures on the basis of the sketches and drawings made in the field.

Thanks to this activity, a very complete pictorial record now exists of Canadian activities both in the United Kingdom and in the theatres of operations in Sicily, Italy, France, and the Low Countries. About 1,000 numbered original pictures, ranging from pencil or water-colour drawings up to large and finished canvases, have now been painted by the artists of the Canadian Army Overseas. In addition, several hundred unnumbered sketches of a more fugitive nature are on file. Selections of pictures have been exhibited to the troops in the field on many occasions; in addition, more formal exhibitions have been held in Rome and Brussels. In London, Room XVIII of the National Gallery has kindly been set aside for the work of Canadian artists of the three services, and three successive groups of pictures have been exhibited there up to the time of writing (April, 1945), while a number of Canadian pictures were included in a special National Gallery exhibition dealing primarily with the operations in Normandy. A large number of original pictures have been despatched to Canada, and exhibitions have been held in Ottawa and elsewhere.

These pictures constitute a unique record of Canadians at war. The Army War Artists, many of whom were already in uniform before their appointment to this duty, have been identified with the life of the Army to an extent which was not achieved in the Canadian Army in the last war and has, it is believed, been achieved by few other armies in this one. They have lived among the troops for months on end, and have frequently been painting in enemy positions within a few hours of their capture. Their pictures are recognized by all ranks of the Canadian Army as authentic expressions of that army's experience; and it is believed that they will be important national possessions in years to come.

No official photographers as such are included in the historical organization, but arrangements have been made with those directing the Public Relations programme for the preservation and captioning of the great number of excellent photographs taken in the field and elsewhere by Canadian Film and Photo Units. In addition a certain number of photographs have been taken in the field by Historical Officers and War Artists.

V

The Historical Section has recently been charged with another duty, not strictly historical: the collection and circulation for immediate purposes of general information relating to operations.

In 1943, when examination was made of the War Diaries of Canadian units operating in Sicily, and the reports received from the Historical Officer employed there, it was immediately recognized that they contained information which would have material value for those engaged in directing the training of Canadian units in the United Kingdom and in Canada. The Section was accordingly instructed to undertake the preparation and circulation of Extracts from these documents, and this work has continued since that time on an increasing scale. "Extracts from War Diaries and Memoranda" relating to operations in both Italy and North-West Europe have been given confidential circulation, and have contributed to keeping training establishments and static headquarters in the United Kingdom and Canada in touch with actual conditions and problems in the theatres of war. This activity has had the incidental advantage of bringing historical personnel into closer touch with the operational branches of the staff than might otherwise have been the case.

VI

The aims and objectives of the historical programme now being pursued within the Canadian Army Overseas have been fairly fully indicated above. Broadly speaking, the objects are, in general, to ensure the creation and preservation of adequate records of Canadian Army activities, and, in particular, to facilitate the publication of an adequate Official History at an early date after the conclusion of hostilities.

The task is enormous, and the officers concerned are only too well aware of inadequacies in the arrangements made. There are times when the historian, facing the mass of data inexorably flowing in upon him, feels rather like Mrs. Partington confronting the Atlantic Ocean with her broom. Nevertheless, it is believed that the ultimate result will certainly be somewhat more satisfactory than if these matters had been left purely to chance.

It is well to post a warning against too-optimistic appreciations of the time that will be required for the production of an adequate Official History of the Canadian Army in this war. Those best

acquainted with the magnitude and complexity of the subject and of the records which must be examined are least sanguine of publication at a very early date. The tentative goal which those concerned have set before them is to make it possible to publish a fairly complete history within *five years* after the conclusion of hostilities. Even under the best conditions conceivable, it is quite certain that the work of the Historical Section in preparing preliminary narratives will be far in arrears of events when war ends. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made, and a foundation laid upon which, it is hoped, there may be reared, in time, a structure not unworthy of those whose gallant deeds it will commemorate.

C. P. STACEY

Canadian Military Headquarters in Great Britain.

THE ROYAL CANADIAN NAVAL HISTORICAL SECTION AND ITS WORK

THE role that two navies have played in Canada's story has for the most part been neglected by historians. One of the principal reasons for this hiatus is, no doubt, that the field has been labelled "drum and trumpet history" and given a wide berth accordingly. Even the story of Canadian naval policy during the years from 1909 to 1914, which would seem to have offered an obvious temptation to the conventional political historian, has never been fully and impartially told. Moreover, the existing accounts of this interesting series of events are very weak on the purely naval side. It is suggested that the story of the Royal Navy in relation to British North America and Canada, and of the Royal Canadian Navy, and naval policies in the Dominion, constitute a field that will repay cultivation. That the history of the Second World War, for its own sake, should be very fully and carefully written, is perhaps self-evident.

When the First World War came, the Borden government had been unwilling to carry out the Laurier naval policy, embodied in the Naval Service Act of 1910, and unable to implement its own. Moreover the Admiralty, when consulted informally as to how Canada could most usefully exert her strength, had advised that the Dominion should put its whole energy into raising an army, since war-ships would take too long to build. This advice the Dominion government followed in the main throughout the war. Consequently Canada's minute naval forces, not substantially augmented, could only play an extremely small part in the war at sea.

At the commencement of the war no historical organization had existed in either of the Canadian services. In 1917, however, the Army set up the Historical Section (General Staff); in 1921 the present Director was appointed for the purpose of collecting and arranging the materials for an official history; and in 1932 he was also charged with the duty of writing the history. The Naval service was asked to provide a suitable research worker, who would be responsible for obtaining material on the basis of which the story of Canadian naval activities during the war could be written for inclusion in the Army's official account. This request, however, was never acted upon.

When Canada entered the Second World War, therefore, the army already had an experienced Historical Section, which only

needed to be expanded in order to handle the historical problems of that war. In spite of the fact that the authorities in the three services had plenty of other things to think about in those difficult days, they realized at an early stage that it would be desirable to create historical units to function during the events that would need to be described later. Accordingly, in February, 1940, the Royal Canadian Air Force established a Historical Section.

Early in the same year the Naval Service appointed a Controller of Naval Information, among whose numerous responsibilities was that of collecting historical records. A few months later, however, this officer left Headquarters in order to take up other duties, and it was not until June, 1941, that a full-time Naval Historian was appointed, who undertook to collect the material for, and to write, the official history of the Navy.

For the first year and a half the Naval Historian worked alone. Late in 1942 a branch of the Section consisting of one officer was established in London, and two assistants were added to the office in Ottawa. At present there are in London three research workers and two stenographers; and in Ottawa four research workers (including the Director), a cataloguer, and a secretary. One research assistant holds a doctorate from the University of London, and has published; the others are all carefully-chosen postgraduate students, with sea experience, if possible. The postgraduate schools of the Universities of Cambridge, Harvard, London, McGill, Oxford, Princeton, Toronto, and Wisconsin, are represented in the Section. It is hoped that as a by-product of this work, the careers of some very promising young scholars will have been substantially promoted.

The Naval Historical Section is responsible for producing a detailed history of the Royal Canadian Navy from the founding of that service to the end of the Second World War. Present plans envisage a three-volume work. The first volume will cover the period from 1909 to 1939, going back for origins to the nineteenth century and earlier. The remaining two will be concerned with the Second World War. Volume II is to deal with activities ashore, principally the work of getting the ships to sea properly manned, armed, equipped, and supplied, and of maintaining them there. Volume III will be devoted to Operations. It is possible that the account of Operations during the Second World War may require two volumes, and a collection of photographs selected from the files of the Photographic Section may perhaps accompany the historical volumes. The amount of material to be covered is

enormous, and the work may require another four or five years to complete.

A few words concerning the nature and location of the principal documents will probably be in order. The story of Operations is mainly based on prior plans or orders for the operation in question, framed in the light of existing Intelligence; on reports of proceedings, action reports, and track-charts, drawn up in the war-ship concerned; on ships' logs; on signals, either ship-to-ship or between ship and shore; and on subsequent appreciations and Intelligence reports. A war-ship entering harbour after a cruise has on board, for the time being, the only complete record of her own recent activities. An obvious weakness here is that all these classes of documents present the operation from one side only; and unless the former enemy publishes a satisfactory account first, the final story is bound to be one-sided. After an action also, owing to the high speed of contemporary war-ships and the complexity of their equipment, it would be far more difficult than it formerly was for the participants to know what had occurred, were it not for the existence of certain detecting and recording devices.

The principal sources for activities carried out on shore are, periodical reports which sometimes take the form of War Diaries, memoranda on almost every subject under the sun, correspondence, minutes, and signals. The material as a whole is exceedingly raw; with the results that its mass is mountainous and that the research worker may be either saved or consigned to purgatory by those who do the filing. The repositories of the records concerned are situated at Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa, at the Admiralty, at the bases and other shore establishments in Canada and Newfoundland, and in Londonderry. For the earlier period, the types of material referred to above are supplemented by a considerable number of printed sources both primary and secondary.

Among the difficulties of research into happenings so fresh from the mint is, asking indulgence for the platitude, that of assessing the value of each coin. Moreover the ubiquitous typist has made writing far too easy, and the telephone creates perplexing gaps in many a story. Occasionally a human document dislikes the final account which has been based on all the information available. The historian of modern war must acquire a very wide, if very superficial, technical knowledge; for, of making many contraptions, there is no end.

In many ways, however, the Naval Historical Section is a research worker's dream, so adequate are the facilities afforded for doing the work. As might be expected, the Section has access to all service records except confidential personal files. To a limited extent it is possible to influence in advance the character of the current records. All the doors, moreover, are open. Consequently it is often possible to supplement and enrich, and occasionally to correct, the information contained in the records, by means of interviews with those who have played a part—often the leading part—in the particular activities that are being studied. In other cases a doubtful point can sometimes be cleared up by mail or even by telephone. It is also possible to visit the scene of almost any relevant activity, and usually the importance of the knowledge thus obtained has been found to outweigh the considerable expenditure of time involved. All the stenographic help needed is available. The Photographic Section takes pictures of everything likely to be of Canadian naval interest, and copies of these photographs can easily be obtained by the Historical Section. Moreover, the Photographic Section has always been ready to take any pictures that the historians need. The willingness of members of the Naval Service to co-operate with the Historical Section, naturally enough, varies with different individuals; but generally speaking it has left nothing to be desired, and in order to help, much trouble is often taken by very busy men. The Admiralty has also been very generous in affording access to information. Among the advantages of working in so recent a period is the fact that most of the documents are typed rather than handwritten.

The effective interviewing of individuals who possess special knowledge tends, like most aptitudes, to improve with practice. Some men who are being questioned about their work are very cautious, either for reasons of "security" or because of a modest fear lest all that they say be printed verbatim within the hour. Much tact is required when, as sometimes happens, a particular witness must be questioned at a time that is very inconvenient for him, if it is to be done at all. Incidentally, as a result of his experience in interviewing, the writer of this article holds that a high respect for the importance of exactness, as well as a full appreciation of the difference between a fact and an opinion, and between first-hand and second-hand information, are much more widespread than is often supposed.

The point has perhaps been made already that obtaining

historical data concerning the activities of a fighting service in time of war, is research of a special type. The work, therefore, requires certain positive or negative aptitudes, which fortunately are widely distributed but which postgraduate schools, not considering them to be assets to the research worker as such, do nothing to inculcate. The boarding of strange war-ships to obtain information often requires a certain tenacity of spirit; all the more so because the standard of courtesy in most ships is very high. It is desirable to be able to fit smoothly into the specialized and rather isolated life of a strange wardroom. It is comfortable to possess a good head for heights, and a relative immunity to seasickness. To the extra-mural activities which the task entails, comedy frequently lends her welcome presence. A member of the Naval Historical Section was once apprehended by two large policemen, when walking about with an inquisitive look in close proximity to a naval base. The cautious attitude of a certain ship-builder who was being interviewed was afterwards found to have stemmed from a belief, or a suspicion, that the questions were leading up to an attempt to sell advertising space in the official history. In the summer of 1942 a Canadian destroyer was probably the first war-ship that ever went into action with an Official Historian on board.

Before the year 1922 there was a small library at Naval Service Headquarters; but in that year the service became part of the Department of National Defence, and its collection was absorbed in the Defence Library. Soon after his appointment the Naval Historian was asked to start a library at Headquarters, and a beginning was made by ordering a limited number of essential titles. In December, 1941, a graduate of the University of Toronto Library School was appointed Librarian, and has occupied that position ever since. The Naval Service Headquarters Library is a specialized collection principally concerned with the fields of naval science and history. The remaining material consists of technical naval works, books relating to the sea and to war, a few publications of a more general character, and reference books. The Library now contains over two thousand titles, and the Library of Congress system of classification is used. All naval and civilian members of the service are entitled and encouraged to use the Library. During an average month nearly two hundred people consult material on the spot, and about three hundred books are borrowed. The Library is attached to the Historical

Section, of which it is a next-door neighbour and to which its usefulness is considerable.

The idea of attaching professional artists to the Canadian armed services as official War Artists, during the Second World War, was slow to mature. Early in 1943, however, the policy of using artists was inaugurated. As in the case of the other services, the official Naval Artists, of whom there are now five, were attached to the Historical Section. The Artists have collected materials on both the Canadian coasts, and in Newfoundland, the United Kingdom, France, and Greece. Needless to say, they have spent much time at sea, and most of their sea material has been obtained in waters where Canadian war-ships were operating. A considerable number of pictures have already been painted, and much material remains to be placed on canvas. Contributions have been made to four exhibitions of Canadian war art, and to a combined "Normandy Assault Exhibition," which were all held in the National Gallery, London; and to a selection of service paintings recently exhibited in Ottawa.

The primary purpose of the War Artists has been to record on canvas various aspects of the Second World War, many of which no other medium can perpetuate equally well if at all. It has been the policy of the Historical Section to obtain the best men available, and to give them as far as possible a free hand in the choice of subject matter and style. The principal result of this effort to date is a comprehensive collection of naval paintings, varied in character. The work has necessarily been varied in quality also; but it is believed that much of it is good and that some of it is very good indeed. These pictures will have been considerably augmented in number by the time that the artists have finished their work, and should constitute an important and worthy part of the national collection. As with the research assistants, so with the artists, it is hoped that their naval war work will turn out to have been of great professional benefit to them.

When the Canadian services, in the Second World War, took the measures which have been described to have the story of their respective activities told in historical narrative and on canvas, they were marching in step with the services of many other countries. In course of time, therefore, the history of the recent war ought to be more adequately told with respect to most of the nations whose records remain intact, than has been the case in any previous conflict. The writer confesses that his own part in this work has hitherto been a deeply satisfying experience.

It is well for those who have any share in these large research projects to bear in mind at all times that theirs is, in a sense, a heavier responsibility than is that of most other practitioners of research. For, in the case of nearly any other scholar, should the well of truth be muddied because he has done inferior work, the water will probably be cleared again by those who follow after. The official service Historians, on the other hand, will almost certainly have the last word.

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THE ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE HISTORICAL SECTION

THE Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force is a product of the present war. In September, 1939 there was no provision in the Air Force for an Historical Section or for Historical Officers. In January, 1945 when the Section reached its maximum expansion there were thirty-two officers—eight at Headquarters, ten in a special detachment in Canada, and the remainder overseas. In addition to the regular staff a number of officers have from time to time been assigned to prepare narratives on specific subjects, usually of a technical nature.

On the outbreak of the war the R.C.A.F. while rich in tradition was wholly lacking in history—in the sense of a written record of its origin, growth, and achievements. During the First World War over 20,000 Canadians had served in the Royal Flying Corps, the Royal Naval Air Service, and the Royal Air Force. While their deeds are essentially part of the story of the R.A.F. they are also the heritage of the R.C.A.F.—and also in some measure of the Canadian Army and Navy. At the close of that conflict an attempt was made to compile for Canadian archives a record of the careers of these men, and a history of the Canadians in the air services was actually projected; but the work was never completed. It was frowned upon as "too historical" in character; the project was dropped and the fruit of several years' labour was lost for almost two decades. Part of it has since been recovered, but unfortunately, since the compilation was not completed, it has been necessary to do over again much of the earlier work.

From 1920 until 1938 the Canadian Air Force (which became Royal in 1923) was under the control of the Chief of the General Staff of the Canadian Army. When, on the eve of the Second World War, it became a separate service under its own Chief of the Air Staff no provision was made for an Historical Section. Finally in January, 1940 the enthusiasm of certain senior officers was able to overcome official inertia and an Historical Officer was attached to the Directorate of Staff Duties. With high sounding but vague instructions he was left to plot a hitherto uncharted course.

One of the Historical Officer's major problems was to find a favouring breeze to carry his little craft on its way and keep it from being becalmed (or overgrown with barnacles of red tape). Higher authority professed little interest in history and occasion-

ally questioned the usefulness of the work which was being done. One of these officers was converted when, by chance, he discovered that some of that work was of great personal interest. To this small incident—or accident—was due in very large measure the later growth of an Overseas Historical Section and a more accurate appreciation of the part which history could play in the R.C.A.F.

The acceptance and expansion of the Historical Section of the R.C.A.F. are due, in large measure, to the support and encouragement of one man who was not at the time a member of the Force. Early in 1940 the late H. A. Jones, C.M.G., M.C., was posted to Canada as Chief Civil Officer of the United Kingdom Air Liaison Mission which held a watching brief for the Royal Air Force in the operation of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Mr. Jones, after a distinguished career in the Royal Flying Corps, had been associated with Sir Walter Raleigh, the first historian of the Royal Air Force, in the preparation of the first volume of the official history of the war in the air. On the latter's death Mr. Jones took over the task and completed the other five volumes of the history. *The War in the Air* was made required reading for all air staff officers of the Luftwaffe but all too frequently in our own service the volumes were left to accumulate dust on the bookshelves. To Mr. Jones, who was later appointed Honorary Air Commodore in the R.C.A.F., the Historical Section of that force is deeply indebted. His untimely death in March, 1945, while flying to Canada for ceremonies attendant upon the termination of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was a severe loss not only to his country which he so faithfully and capably served but to the historical profession as well. Enthusiastic support and encouragement was also extended to the R.C.A.F. Historical Section by other officials of the Air Ministry.

A second major problem confronting the R.C.A.F. Historian when he took up his duties in January, 1940 was the paucity and poor quality of official records. All units were required to submit at the end of each month a daily diary describing the formation's activities. But these were, at best, of dubious value. Commanding officers obviously regarded the daily diary as just another return which had to be completed, signed (without reading) and forwarded to Headquarters regardless of the interest or even the accuracy of the information contained therein. What data the diaries did contain were usually restricted to routine postings of officers and occasional meteorological comments.

It was necessary to impress upon those responsible for the

compilation of these records, which had to serve as the basis for so much of the Air Historian's work, the importance of preparing a complete and accurate account, faithfully reflecting all phases of the unit's life. This was particularly essential since, in the early days of 1940, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expanding rapidly and new training units were springing up all over the Dominion. Unless from the very beginning the necessity of preparing a clear and chronological record for each unit could be instilled in commanding officers the ground work of the R.C.A.F. history would be lost. The day by day happenings of a training unit offered little scope for creative writing, but an officer who took a real interest in the unit's daily diary could easily make it more than a mere succession of entries reading "routine" or "duty carried out." In this educational programme the Historical Section was greatly assisted—albeit unconsciously—by R.A.F. officers who in the early stages of the training programme were attached to many R.C.A.F. units. To them the daily diary was not a routine return to be submitted with the minimum of delay—and detail—but a mirror of the unit's life which could be used as an active aid to training. For many months the work of the Historical Section was devoted almost entirely to a careful study of unit daily diaries. Gradually, by correspondence and personal visits, the standards were raised. As commanding officers came to realize that their monthly returns were studied rather than shelved, that items from them could be turned to immediate profit to the training plan, so did their interest increase and the quality of the diaries improve until they became historical records in the true sense of the word.

Once this programme began to bear fruit and the groundwork had been laid in Canada, it was possible to turn to other tasks and expand overseas. During the first eighteen months of the war the need for an Overseas Historical Section was less vital than it became in the summer of 1941. The demands of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan absorbed virtually the whole strength of the R.C.A.F. and only three squadrons were sent overseas early in 1940. By the time they had arrived in Britain and were ready for operations the character of the war had changed entirely. Military operations on the continent had ceased and two of the squadrons, which had been intended for co-operation with the Canadian Army in the field, were destined to a long period of training and waiting. Only the fighter squadron was able to get into action for six weeks during the Battle of Britain following

which it was transferred to a quieter zone. Through this period the record books (or daily diaries) of these three units were carefully scrutinized by the Historical Section at Air Force Headquarters in the same manner as the diaries of units in Canada.

In the spring of 1941, however, as graduates of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan began to move overseas in increasing numbers, a great expansion of the R.C.A.F. overseas began. Many new units were organized in Fighter, Bomber, and Coastal Commands and it was essential to exercise a closer supervision of their historical records than could be done from Headquarters in Canada.

At the same time it was possible to broaden the activities of the Historical Section, from its original and essential task of checking unit records, and make a beginning on the actual compilation of a R.C.A.F. history. Although the Force itself dates only from 1920 its roots and traditions go back to 1914 or even earlier. In the plan for the official history, therefore, it was proposed to begin with an introductory volume sketching the development of aviation in Canada from 1909 when the first heavier-than-air flight in the Dominion was made at Baddeck, Nova Scotia. It was planned also to describe the work of Canadians in the Royal Flying Corps, Royal Naval Air Service, and R.A.F. during the First World War. The records for this period (except for the partial collection made by the short-lived Historical Section of the immediate post-war years) were not to be found in Canada but in the archives of the Air Ministry in Britain. Late in 1941, therefore, an officer was posted overseas to extract from the records of the R.A.F. the pertinent data to construct, as it were, a runway from which the history of the R.C.A.F. could take off.

This officer, the first member of the Overseas Historical Section, was followed a few weeks later by another whose duties, chiefly administrative in character, were to supervise the compilation of unit diaries and organize the collection of other historical information. Since the record books of squadrons engaged on operations were based in large measure upon individual reports—e.g. by a fighter pilot or a bomber crew—a particularly careful check was necessary to ensure accuracy. Combat or bombing reports had to be compared with squadron diaries, and squadron diaries with wing or group record books. Unless errors, discrepancies, or omissions were immediately detected it might well prove impossible to correct them after the lapse of a few months.

The Overseas Section encountered problems quite different from those which had to be faced in Canada. At home there was a complete set of unit diaries from the smallest units and detachments up to Command Headquarters; the historian had at his disposal records covering the whole story of the R.C.A.F. in Canada. But overseas R.C.A.F. units were but parts of larger R.A.F. formations. The R.C.A.F.'s own records represented, broadly speaking, only the squadron level and told a very narrow, restricted story. To understand fully the operations in which the squadrons were engaged it was necessary to have information, particularly with respect to operational policy, from higher levels up to and including the Commands. The R.C.A.F. in other words had a considerable volume of tactical, but was almost completely lacking in strategical, information.

To fill this gap in the records, R.C.A.F. Historical Officers were attached, in the spring of 1943, to Fighter, Bomber, and Coastal Commands and another was posted to Headquarters Middle East. Their duties were to prepare a careful record of the policy and operations of their several commands so that operations of the R.C.A.F. units therein could be viewed against their proper background. They also exercised general supervision over R.C.A.F. unit records in their Commands. A R.C.A.F. Bomber Group had begun operations on January 1, 1943, and another officer of the Historical Section was assigned to Group to have charge of its daily diary, which provided the strategical background of the squadrons whose diaries gave the tactical detail. All these officers acted in close co-operation with R.A.F. officers engaged on similar duties. Although the greater part of their time had to be spent at Command Headquarters they took every opportunity to visit stations and units to gain closer touch with the actual conduct of operations and the life of a squadron in the field. Every facility was extended to the Canadian operations record officers by the Air Ministry and the R.A.F. To them the Historical Section is indebted for virtually the whole of its information on policy and strategy.

In this manner provision was made for the proper compilation of basic sources. It was felt that a start could now be made in the preparation from these sources of a primary narrative of R.C.A.F. operations. Carefully selected officers, several of them members of the Women's Division, were posted overseas to form a Narration Section. The narratives are being written, in the first instance, on a sectional basis covering each special phase of air operations

(e.g. day fighter, night fighter, bomber) and weaving together into a running story data from all pertinent sources. The records compiled by the officers attached to the several Commands serve largely as the warp on the loom of the narrator. The work of this Overseas Narration Section is now well advanced.

Considerable progress has also been made at home in the preparation of basic narratives dealing with the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and Home War operations. Specially qualified officers possessing considerable personal knowledge of their various subjects have been assigned to compile narratives of various branches of the R.C.A.F., such as Eastern and Western Air Commands, Medicine, Training, Personnel, Landlines, etc. From these sectional narratives, or histories, a final history will be prepared at a later date.

It may be noted in passing that in the air service it has not been feasible, as it would be in other branches of the armed forces, to detail Historical Officers to accompany units on actual operations. It is obviously impossible to have such an officer accompany a fighter formation on a sweep; nor would an Historical Officer flying in a bomber—if such permission were granted—obtain a truer picture of the operation as a whole than he could gain from the composite story of the crews participating.

Through this period, as the strength of the Historical Section at home and overseas was steadily expanding, the status of the officer in charge of the historical work had undergone several changes. Originally he was charged with a wide variety of staff duties which were given much greater emphasis than history, so that the latter seemed, for a time at least, to fall into the category of an avocation. Eventually, however, the increasing volume of the historical work which had to be undertaken forced a redistribution of certain duties and the growing importance of his role as historian was recognized by the addition of "Historical Records" to the original title of "Director of Staff Duties." Finally, in March, 1944, he was relieved of his other responsibilities, officially designated as R.C.A.F. Historian and permitted to devote the whole of his time to that task.

The supervision of R.C.A.F. unit records and the preparation of a historical narrative based upon them does not constitute the whole of the R.C.A.F. Historian's task. The R.C.A.F. units overseas, some forty-seven squadrons in all, were but a part of the force's contribution to the Allied air effort. Thousands of R.C.A.F. air and ground crew served with R.A.F. or other Allied

units scattered all over the face of the globe and for them the R.C.A.F. has no records (other than purely routine data such as postings). Nor can the Dominion forget or the historian wholly neglect the hundreds of young Canadians who in pre-war years, or in the early months of the conflict, joined the R.A.F. To chronicle the achievements of both these groups—a "lost legion" of the air—the R.C.A.F. Historian must extract his information from R.A.F. records. Both tasks, necessarily very slow, have been started, but it will be some little time before the work, even when done on a selective basis, can be completed.

Pending the preparation of a detailed official history of the R.C.A.F., which cannot be completed for several years at least, until time provides the required perspective, the Air Historian and his staff are producing a series of interim reports in the form of semi-popular books, describing only the operations of the R.C.A.F. squadrons overseas. The first of these, *The RCAF Overseas: The First Four Years*, was published in October, 1944; the second, covering the fifth year of the war, should appear in the summer of 1945; and a third, bringing the story down to V-E Day, is in active preparation. Thanks to the kindness and generosity of a public-spirited Canadian, who prefers to remain anonymous, it was possible to have the first of these volumes published commercially without expense to the public. The interest of Canadian readers has been so great that it was not necessary to call upon this gentleman's guarantee against loss to the publisher; on the contrary, the R.C.A.F. Benevolent Fund, to which all royalties are assigned, has already received approximately \$3,000 from the sale of the first two printings of the first volume. In answer to the gratifying response of the buying public a third printing is in preparation, placing this volume in the best seller class for Canada.

The R.C.A.F. Historical Section has also prepared for publication one booklet, the personal diary of a Spitfire pilot, which has already sold 11,000 copies. Several other small books on specialized subjects are under preparation.

In addition to collecting printed and written records the Air Historian is also charged with the collection of material for an aeronautical museum. A considerable quantity has already been gathered overseas.

One of the less vital, but none the less interesting, duties of the Historical Section has been the handling of unit badges which are submitted to the College of Arms for approval by the Chester

Herald and H.M. the King. The badges, similar in design to those of the R.A.F., bear a strange collection of devices ranging from purely heraldic (and mythical) creatures to unmistakable Canadian flora and fauna, while the mottoes borrow from several Indian languages as well as English and French and the orthodox heraldic Latin.

To ensure that the record of the war is complete—so far as typewriter, pen, and brush can make it—the Air Historian also controls the service destinies of the official War Artists. By the very nature of air operations it was not possible for R.C.A.F. Artists to be as close to actual operations as it was in the other two services. The only exception to this limitation upon the Artists' work was in the Sunderland flying-boat squadrons of Coastal Command which patrolled over the ocean hour after hour every day of the year. Although the R.C.A.F. War Artists have, of necessity, had to do their work on the ground, the Historical Section has been fortunate in securing the services of two artists who combine marked talent with considerable air experience. After completing a tour of operations as a fighter pilot one of these officers was appointed an official War Artist and, in addition to a series of portraits of air personalities, has depicted on canvas a number of incidents of air action over France. The other officer was previously a navigator in a bomber squadron and thus is able to record, from firsthand knowledge, impressions of another major branch of the Air Force's work.

While the opportunity of sharing in air operations has been largely denied them, the R.C.A.F. Artists have not been exempt from the hazards of war. One worked with sketchbook in hand to record an air raid while the bombers were still overhead. Another was torpedoed while crossing the Atlantic and lost all his art supplies in addition to personal possessions. Yet another was marooned for weeks at an isolated post in Labrador when the spring thaw set in.

Instead of attaching the War Artists permanently to one particular unit or formation, it has been the policy to move them from one to another so that there is no tendency to become stereotyped. In addition there is the advantage of having the same kind of operation presented from several points of view, each with a different outlook and divergent treatment and style. R.C.A.F. Artists have travelled widely throughout Canada, Newfoundland, Labrador, Greenland, and Iceland, while overseas their duties have taken them to all parts of the United Kingdom,

through the Middle East and Italy, and into France, Belgium, and the Netherlands with the Army of Liberation, and now into Germany. Their work depicts every phase of the varied activities of the R.C.A.F. from training schools in Canada to all types of operational units overseas in Britain, Africa, and on the continent. The air defence of Canada on the east and west coasts and the far-reaching airways of North-West Air Command have also been covered.

Several exhibitions of R.C.A.F. art have already been held overseas, one in Canada (in conjunction with the other services) and further displays are projected.

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"WHERE NOW IS BRITAIN?"¹

ONE of the most striking contrasts between the two World Wars lies in the quality of the popular emotions they have aroused. In September, 1939, no nation—aggressor or victim—went to war with the kind of martial enthusiasm that possessed it in August of 1914. Crusading analogies have not come easily to our lips when we have talked of the war, and the emotions that it has enlisted have been, in large measure, negative and defensive. Some of this same temper has affected our planning for peace. Many of us would gladly exchange the apocalyptic visions that we once dared to have for the promise of a tolerable existence, our principality in Utopia for a reasonably secure acre in Middlesex or Connecticut or Manitoba.

No doubt, our modest expectations are, in part, protective covering against the kind of disillusionment that assailed us after 1919. We hesitate to hitch our collective wagon exclusively to a star, for we suspect that the help of a B-29 may be needed. We imagine, rightly or wrongly, that we are approaching this peace with a firmer grasp of the realities of power than we had twenty-five years ago, having learned the painful lesson that goodwill is not enough. But it is also true that our hesitations about the peace and world organization owe a good deal to the fact that this time no one is sure of the answers, and no political architect can be confident that his calculation of the stresses and strains of the future is accurate.

For in years to come the historian is likely to look back on the early twentieth century as one of those crucial periods of readjustment, in which is created a new balance of forces in the world, an era in which the tempo of world movement is altered and world perspectives are modified. The main features of this readjustment have become almost commonplaces during recent months. Today, as in the age of the Renaissance, power is being redistributed territorially. The hegemony which in the sixteenth century moved from the Mediterranean to states bordering on the Atlantic is now leaving western Europe for the Soviet Union on the east and the United States on the west. Viewed as units of power, western and central Europe are undergoing a relative

¹Henry Kirke White (1785-1806). Some of the material included in this article was first used in a lecture given at the University of Toronto in November, 1944. As will perhaps be apparent to the reader, it was possible to make only minor revisions in the light of the recent general election.

decline. In this world, furthermore, a small number of powers—for the present at least, not more than three—will hold a dominant position. These are powers which differ in kind, as well as in degree, from the ordinary small sovereign state. Enormous industrial and military potential marks the super-power² and distinguishes it from, say, Ecuador or Bulgaria. It is probably inevitable that in this imperfect international world the vital political decisions should be made by those with power to enforce them, and the San Francisco Conference, although the smaller nations made some telling points, tended to emphasize the importance of the super-state in plans for future world stability.

In this contracting world the interdependence of nations is the most obvious of facts. The reality of "One World" has been apparent for at least two or three decades, but now the long range airplane and the rocket bomb have dramatized it in a way that even world depression was unable to do. No important decision can be taken in Moscow or London or Washington without affecting every other centre of civilized life. This is true even of decisions which lie outside the zone traditionally labeled "foreign policy," especially of domestic social and economic programmes. For statecraft in this modern world has broadened its scope in a way that the mid-nineteenth century could hardly have credited. It would never have occurred to the Victorians, for example, to mortgage the pound sterling for the sake of a high level of employment. Policies of social welfare have now become a major concern of every industrial state, and the leftward trend of current opinion in Europe will insure an expansion of such activities. Indeed, the line by which we have marked off the political from the economic is now being rapidly obliterated, and the two are merging as easily as in the mercantilist state. National policies of welfare have ceased to be purely domestic matters and have acquired international implications of immense significance.

II

It is unnecessary here to inquire how Britain fits into these changing world outlines. Obviously the nineteenth century has gone and with it Britain's peculiar pre-eminence. This was not something that lay in the logic of history but the result of a special set of circumstances. In the twilight of the century, Pax Bri-

²Discussed and analysed in William T. R. Fox, *The Super-Powers* (New York, 1944).

tannica came to an end—and years before the fact was recognized by policymakers. The decline in Britain's power position, which was only partly revealed by the First World War, has now become obvious to all. And although none of the major powers will find it a simple matter to adapt its policies to a new station in life, Britain's problem will be especially difficult. In the interests both of their own security and world order the Soviet Union and the United States will have to accept responsibilities of much greater magnitude than in the past. With Britain the imperatives point in the opposite direction. British policy must of necessity be built on more modest dimensions than those blueprinted by Victorian foreign secretaries.

Of the three major powers which will emerge from the war, Russia and the United States belong in a special category. These are the only ones whose credentials to "super-power" status are unquestioned. Britain's claim can be admitted only with some qualification, for, to cite the editor of the *London Economist*, her Great Power position is dependent on the continued co-operation of the Commonwealth and the absence of active hostility on the part of the United States.³ It is the status of a "conditional Great Power" that is assigned to Britain. An American student puts the point even more sharply when he makes Britain's future as a super-power depend on the support of the Commonwealth and the United States—and goes on to remark that "the support of the former can be counted on only if the support of the latter seems assured."⁴ As regards global, though not regional, importance only these three need be considered. No other state will have worldwide interests comparable to those of the Big Three, and of these Britain's position, at least in material power, will inevitably be weaker than that of the other two.

"Power" as applied to international politics is a lamentably vague concept, and attempts to measure it are often more interesting than convincing. There are, of course, some moderately objective constituents of power—population, resources, economic organization, geographical location, and the like—elements whose importance would be generally admitted. But beyond these are the imponderables, such as political experience, ability to adjust to new circumstances, capacity for influencing other peoples, and that indefinable social temper which, for lack of a better term, we call morale. The relative significance of these components,

³"What Is a Great Power?", March 11, 1944, 331.

⁴Fox, *The Super-Powers*, 57.

moreover, will change from decade to decade. What at one time appeared an incalculable asset may, through technological change, be reduced to a neutral or even a negative factor, while a grave weakness, perhaps the lack of a strategic material, may in the course of a few years cease to matter. Yet with all the qualifications that must be kept in mind, there is no escaping the essential fact. Britain is emerging from the war weaker in both a relative and an absolute sense, save that Germany, her greatest peril in western Europe, will have been eliminated. Nor is there reason to look for a reversal of this trend, to anticipate an improvement in the British position as over against the United States and the Soviet Union. In the immediate future at least, the forces of history are likely to be on the side of the big battalions.

And the Russian and American battalions, especially the former, are staggeringly big. This is not to give undue weight to population as an ingredient of power. Obviously total population is only one of the elements, and not the most important, in determining the rank of a nation in the hierarchy of power. Political disunity or technological backwardness may nullify the advantage of large man-power resources. But unless the disparity in such fields is too great, hegemony will not be unrelated to population.

Something over a quarter of the estimated population of the globe is included within the limits of the British Commonwealth and Empire, a huge mass of approximately 550 million souls. Unfortunately this impressive total is comparatively meaningless as an index of Britain's future influence. To begin with, upwards of 400 million are residents of India and Burma, and these, to say the least, can hardly be regarded as a prospective source of strength. The white population of the Commonwealth amounts to only about 72 million—the European population of the dependent Empire would not add substantially to this figure—as compared with the 130 million inhabitants of the United States and the 174 million of the Soviet Union.

Nor is the European population of the Commonwealth distributed on what a master strategist would consider an optimum basis. Except for the 50 million residents of the United Kingdom, the largest single concentration is in British North America, where Commonwealth interests are already as secure as any reasonable statesman could expect. But in the East the situation is otherwise. From the point of view of their own security Australia and New Zealand are gravely under-populated, though

there are differences of opinion as to the additional numbers that could be absorbed.⁵ If the Japanese attack had been launched against the two southern Dominions rather than against the United States, the fewer than nine million Anzacs could have done little to repel it. Even with the aid of what American naval power was still available after Pearl Harbor, it was a narrower escape than Australians like to recall. In short, the man-power which can be mobilized in the East has proved inadequate for the protection of Commonwealth interests, and it can no longer be taken for granted that Britain herself will be able to make up the difference.

There is, moreover, no reason to believe that the population gap between Britain and her two major allies will be narrowed during the next generation or two. Unless unforeseen factors intervene, the lead of the United States over Britain will be widened but both will fall still farther behind the Soviet Union. According to the most authoritative population projections, Britain has now achieved her maximum population and by 1970 will have felt a decline of something over $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. While the British population is slowly falling, that of the United States will continue to grow, though at a reduced rate. Assuming medium mortality and fertility and an absence of immigration, one might look by 1970 for a gain of slightly less than 20 per cent. But the anticipated Russian gain is of a different order of magnitude—45 per cent as compared with less than 5 per cent for Europe outside the Soviet Union.⁶ Nor can western Europe take consolation from the age distribution of Russia's millions. A relatively high proportion of younger people will place the Soviet Union in a peculiarly favourable position with respect to both labour and military strength.

⁵See, for example, W. D. Forsyth, *The Myth of Open Spaces* (Melbourne, 1942).

⁶The figures (in millions) on which these percentages are based are as follows:

	1940	1970
United Kingdom.....	47.2	43.6
United States.....	131.0	157.0
U.S.S.R.....	174.0	251.0
Europe outside the Soviet Union...	399.0	417.0

The source for the figures for the United States is W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Estimates of the Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000* (Washington, 1943), 29; the others are taken from Frank W. Notestein and staff, *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union* (Geneva, League of Nations, 1944), 55. Although, because of certain differences in method, the Thompson-Whelpton and the Notestein projections are not wholly comparable, the discrepancy would not be sufficient to affect the argument. Professor Notestein cautions that his projections assume that normal population trends will remain uninfluenced by (1) war and (2) international migration and that they are not to be regarded as "predictions."

All this is to deal with power ratios on the crudest possible level. Population disparity is not necessarily decisive, and, if the larger population happens to be backward technologically, it may signify little, as the Victorians discovered to their profit. But the British are no longer competing against primitive technologies. The economic leadership of nineteenth-century England was obviously a special case, and the Victorians had good reason to regard themselves as the favoured children of a particularly beneficent force. Indeed, when the even-handed deity of the classical economists conferred world economic supremacy on a small island only moderately well endowed by nature, one suspects him of forsaking his usual rational behaviour and indulging in an antic gesture. It is unnecessary to recall how precarious were some of the foundations on which that supremacy rested. No sane person, for example, in planning a world economy would have selected Lancashire as the centre of cotton manufacture, with raw material that had to be brought something over 3,000 miles and a finished product marketed all over the world. Other staple industries were less artificial creations, but certainly Britain's enormous lead was not achieved because of assets which would confer a permanent advantage. Rather the British ascendancy was a function of chronology—to paraphrase the immortal explanation of General Forrest, the result of getting there first with the most steam engines, spinning mules, ships, and locomotives.

Virtually all of Britain's special advantages have now been wiped out, save that of geographical location. Today her two principal allies, the one in present fact and the other potentially, far surpass her in industrial power. In steel and iron ore, for example, the lead of the United States is overwhelming, but Russian production is certain to increase materially.⁷ The editor of the *Economist* estimates that by the end of the present century the American national income may be double what it is now—or triple what it was in the late nineteen-thirties. In Britain, on the other hand, the national income is unlikely to exceed its present level by more than 50 per cent, and that rate of increase, he notes, requires optimistic assumptions about the trend of population and individual productivity.⁸

⁷The British Iron and Steel Federation has recently announced a plan to spend approximately a half billion dollars on a modernization and reconstruction programme which will add 20 per cent to Britain's steel ingot capacity. Some such extensive outlay of capital will be necessary whether the industry remains under private or is transferred to public control, *New York Times*, July 23, 1945.

⁸Geoffrey Crowther, "Freedom and Control" (*Foreign Affairs*, Jan. 1, 1944, 183).

The economic world of which Victorian England was the ruler lies in collapse and will never be rebuilt. For Britain the question is no longer that of regaining leadership. At once more elementary and more complicated, it is rather to maintain the British population on an adequate standard of life and to prevent further deterioration in the British international position. Obviously the essential problem will be to find means of paying for necessary imports, since the nineteenth-century means are no longer available. The prosperity of Victorian economy rested, in a large degree, on overseas capital investment and on the re-investment of income from these foreign holdings. With all the tremendous volume of goods exports, these always fell short of imports, and it was returns from foreign investment and other invisible exports that enabled Britain to balance her international account. During the First World War some of these foreign holdings were liquidated, and the process of disinvestment went on more or less steadily in the period between the wars. In 1936-8, for example, 40 per cent of the net imports had to be paid for by invisible exports and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by disinvestment.⁹

Post-war Britain can no longer lean on such supports as these. For foreign holdings have been liquidated in substantial quantities and what amounts to a foreign war debt (probably aggregating about £3.5 billion) in the form of "blocked" sterling balances in London, has been acquired. Another element in Britain's invisible exports, financial services, will probably figure less significantly in the future, for, although London will continue to be an important money market, the world's major financial centre has plainly moved across the Atlantic to New York—or Washington. In short, Britain will be faced with a tremendous deficit in her international balance of payments. To bring this account into equilibrium will mean in practice a huge increase in visible exports, for any great and permanent reduction in imports must be dismissed as out of the question. Goods exports of 50 per cent above the pre-war average is the minimum set by most authorities. Such an achievement is possible only if one assumes two things: first, an expanding volume of international trade, together with a considerable increase in the world demand for British products, and secondly, a level of productive efficiency that will enable British goods to compete with reasonable success in world markets.

It cannot be taken for granted that either of these conditions will be satisfied. The first depends largely on the commercial

⁹E. F. Schumacher, *Export Policy and Full Employment* (London, 1943), 7.

policies of other nations and the temper of the international world. But it should be added that such an expansion is vital to the British not only because of the deficit in their international account but also because of their full employment policy, to which, we may assume, the Labour government will be doubly committed. Unless full employment is to be accompanied by a reduced standard of living, both exports and imports must be stabilized at a high level. A vastly increased volume of international trade is, in short, a primary British interest.

The second condition implies a question about the British industrial system which cannot at present be answered. American observers, with their reverence for low-cost mass production, perhaps tend to underestimate the efficiency of some branches of British industry and to ignore the fact that in certain fields highly mechanized methods might be ill-adapted to British circumstances. What seems reasonably plain, however, is that with the older export staples, the very sinews of Britain's Victorian triumph, there is little basis for optimism, especially little with cotton textiles and coal. But to stress unduly such industries would be to distort the situation. As someone has said, the history of economic progress is the record of decaying industries and the supplanting of them by newer ones. If the post-war world may find little place for British cotton and coal, other industries have less gloomy prospects. Chemicals, rayon, the light metals (although none of the essential ores is present in quantity in the United Kingdom), and machine tools offer exciting possibilities, and the same applies to the wide variety of consumers' goods where workmanship and high quality still count.¹⁰ Britain's industrial future will depend in part on the skill and energy shown in shifting capital and man-power from moribund to newer industries, and the opportunity will come during the period immediately after the war, when a goods-hungry world will be clamouring for products of almost any description. Behind the protective screen of this export boom Britain can accomplish much by way of reorganization and rationalization.

Merely to discuss the question of Britain's destiny in these terms seems to emphasize the distance we have travelled since the turn of the century. What we have been considering, in reality, is not Britain's future power position but whether she can escape bankruptcy! Successfully meeting the crisis of the next

¹⁰George Soule, "Life and Death for Britain" (*New Republic*, March 19, 1945, 378-9).

decade or two will not alter the fundamentals of the situation. It will probably serve to maintain Britain as a world power and the leading state of western Europe, but it can hardly redress the basic inequalities between the power and resources of the United States and Russia on the one hand and of Britain and western Europe on the other.

III

If the nineteenth-century pre-eminence of Britain rested on a foundation of industrial and commercial supremacy, it was raised to even more spectacular heights by conditions on the continent. For the decades after 1815 provide an admirable example of the European order most congenial to the British taste. During this interval between the French and German hegemonies, the four chief powers were sufficiently near a parity that none dared go too far towards upsetting the balance. For much of the century Britain was thus free to cultivate those world interests which marked her off so sharply from the other European states without having to face in an acute form the traditional dilemma of British foreign policy, that of isolation or intervention—or rather the question of how far intervention in continental affairs was to go. It was more than a matter of indifference which course British foreign secretaries took, but in these years a wrong decision would not push the country to the edge of disaster.

The redistribution of forces that took place during the eighteenth-seventies and eighteen-eighties altered the problem that British statesmen had to solve. With a united Germany as the increasingly dominant power on the continent and as the centre of a system of alliances and understandings, it was only a question of time until the bankruptcy of the mid-century policy should be exposed. The British government was traditionally committed to oppose any overwhelming concentration of power on the continent. But the balance-of-power policy in its pure form, the policy of maintaining equilibrium by encouraging first one group of powers and then another, assumed that Britain could achieve her end without becoming too deeply involved. Paradoxically, if Britain had to abandon her semi-isolation and bind herself irretrievably to a continental combination in order to preserve the balance, that would brand the policy itself as a failure. Although British participation in the Triple Entente was, on the one hand, an attempt to uphold the balance, it was also an admission that the policy had failed. The

day had passed when continental equilibrium could be effected by remote control.

The revolution which took place in the international field in the late nineteenth century not only forced Britain from her role of interested bystander in Europe but also obliged her to share her world leadership. For the industrialized states of this age of bumptious nationalism were not to be satisfied with mere local greatness, leaving unchallenged Britain's position as sole world power. In one area after another the British felt the pressure of new competition from both potential friends and foes. Germany and Russia in the Middle East, the United States, Russia, and Japan in the Far East, France and Italy in the Mediterranean—it was plainly a different universe from that of the mid-century, though in none of these areas was British prestige critically shaken. The thrust of Germany into the Near and Middle East created what would have been, had not the war intervened, a vast sphere of influence in the old Turkish Empire. On the mainland of Asia the menace of Russian expansion compelled the British to make terms with another of their future Far Eastern rivals, Japan. Meanwhile, the Eastern interests of the United States took on a political character. The acquisition of the Philippines—a step welcomed by the British, for the United States as a Far Eastern neighbour was far preferable to Germany—was a crucial event for both countries. For as it symbolized the rise of the United States as a world power it also marked the beginning of Britain's decline as the dominant power in the Pacific.

Although in retrospect one can see that these pressures were not a series of isolated episodes but were chapters in the deterioration of Britain's world influence, their significance was not entirely apparent in the years before 1914. Britain was still the leading world power and one of the major powers of western Europe—and western Europe still the centre of the world. Some of her favoured position she had shared with other aspirants but nothing more ominous than that. And from the victory of the First World War, costly as it was, Britain appeared to have profited in enhanced prestige and security. Germany, her chief rival in western Europe, had been humbled, and Russia, another perennial threat, seemed hopelessly weakened. With the exception of the United States, which evidently did not seek the honour, there were no obvious candidates for world leadership. Altogether, if Englishmen could avert their eyes from the country's economic plight, they might reasonably find a certain satisfaction in the outlook.

This misapprehension with regard to the power which Britain could summon was responsible for some of the vagaries of British policy during the "twenty years' armistice." British and American policies alike seemed innocent of serious suspicion that the balance of world forces had been radically altered. To some British statesmen it seemed an appropriate time to revert to the balance-of-power philosophy of an earlier day and in partial isolation to preside over the continental equilibrium.¹¹ As the strongest military power on the continent, France to many Englishmen was more menacing than was a prostrate Germany and the kind of guarantees demanded by the French were thought an altogether excessive commitment. A century before Britain had held out encouragement to a defeated France, and now a similar formula was applied, though in a much less positive fashion.¹² Although after the rise of Nazi Germany the two countries drew together as in the years before 1914, it was too late for a genuine balance to be established, given the hesitations of Anglo-French statecraft and public opinion. The failure of the policy of balance was a measure both of the misconceptions that inspired it and of the disparity between the objectives that Britain sought and the force that she could command.

What were tendencies in the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties have now become accomplished facts. However the present war may affect Britain's intrinsic strength, there can be no doubt that her relative strategic position will have suffered severely. For the first time since the seventeenth century, except for brief periods, a single state will be incomparably the strongest power on the continent, so powerful in a military sense that there is no conceivable possibility of a continental balance. One might compare the coming peace to the Treaties of Westphalia, which enthroned France as ruler of the continent. But that, I think, would be an understatement, for technology has so reduced distances and increased the destructive power of modern weapons that in the future Russia is likely to hold a European ascendancy even more unchallenged than did the France of Louis XIV. One can almost say that the condition which British diplomatists and soldiers have for centuries sought to avoid has now been realized. Clearly Britain's traditional policy will be doubly inapplicable to post-war Europe.

¹¹E. H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace* (New York, 1942), 196.

¹²*Political and Strategic Interests of the United Kingdom* (Chatham House, London, 1939), 73.

Not only has the rise of Soviet Russia altered the European framework within which British policy must operate, but leadership outside Europe, in a considerable measure, has been taken over by the United States. Americans are not entirely aware that they have stepped into the position which Britain occupied in the nineteenth century (though there are, of course, substantial differences) save when they think of it as a function of naval power. They realize that the naval parity with Britain achieved in 1921 has been converted under the pressure of war into a superiority which will not be relinquished and that a powerful navy is an instrument of world influence. But most Americans would be outraged if it were suggested that in the future the United States would have to defend British interests, the British Empire if you wish, whenever the strain on Britain became too great. Yet this is what must inevitably take place, what, in fact, has been taking place since 1941. American power, it has been demonstrated beyond doubt, is necessary for the defence of British possessions in the Pacific and for the safety of the southern Dominions.¹³ But the converse is scarcely less true. Americans have learned, somewhat to their chagrin, that not only the British Isles themselves but the curious little red spots on the Pacific map, hitherto only objects of amusement or annoyance, have now become vital to their security. Their names have been written imperishably on the pages of American history—Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Tarawa. One can take it for granted, I think, that for a good many years the United States will be the dominant power in the Pacific and that the British role will be secondary.

It is natural enough that British statesmen, confronted by an unfamiliar and rather terrifying prospect, should explore possible ways of improving their position. In January, 1944, at Toronto, Lord Halifax made a bid for a more closely integrated Commonwealth, with a common foreign and military policy. A few weeks earlier Field Marshall Smuts stated the case for a British-dominated alliance of western European democracies to serve as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union. Although, as will be urged presently, there was merit in some features of General Smuts'

¹³Frank H. Underhill, "Trends in American Foreign Policy" (*University of Toronto Quarterly*, April, 1944, 295); William B. Willcox, "Forces of Change in the English-Speaking World" (*Yale Review*, autumn, 1943, 24-7). It is not to be assumed that the United States will feel equally committed to defend all parts of the Empire. In fact, as a recent writer has pointed out (John Fischer, "Odds against Another War," *Harpers Magazine*, August, 1945, 100), one of the questions that American policy-makers will have to answer precisely is the extent to which they are prepared to support British interests when these do not obviously affect the United States.

plan, it was not introduced under the happiest of circumstances. By picturing it as a device for balancing the growing strength of Russia, he managed to offend the Russians who were to be checked, the western European democracies who were to be dominated, and those sections of American opinion which are always on the alert to detect Britain in the practice of "power politics!"¹⁴

Such attempts to reinforce the power on which Britain can draw, even if they were to succeed, would by no means redress the balance. What the situation requires, on the part of the other major powers, no less than on Britain's, is an adjustment of policy to the realities of the international world. In the United States, for example, although isolationism of the traditional sort has apparently broken down, the task of formulating a world policy is still to be faced. For Britain the need is perhaps even more urgent. If British might can no longer undertake to patrol the world, as in the nineteenth century, it is important to know where the primary British interests lie and to measure these against the power available to maintain them. Future policy must take account of this basic equation, so largely ignored between the two wars.

IV

Stated broadly—one ought, perhaps, to apologize for the platitude—the fundamental British interests are peace and security and therefore the building of a workable peace mechanism. Of all the major powers Britain is perhaps most predisposed to an international point of view. British public opinion gave to the old League sincere and vigorous support, though there was more than a little wishful thinking about the devotion that it inspired. Subconsciously Englishmen tended to regard the League as a new and organic creation, existing independently of its self-centred members and promising an easy escape from the dilemmas of foreign policy and defence. The world learned something from that experience, and the nations are entering the new security organization determined, perhaps unreasonably, not to expect too much. It is agreed that, at least during an extended transitional period, the success of the project will be in proportion to the harmony existing among the Great Powers and their willingness to make concessions not only to each other but to nations below the super-power rank. In other words, for some time to come Britain's major contribution to international stability will be

¹⁴"New Model in Europe?" (*Economist*, June 2, 1945, 722).

made as one of the Big Three, and her policy must continue to take as its major premise collaboration with her two chief allies. As the natural internationalist of the group, Britain must feel especially bound to move, as rapidly as possible, from Big Three control towards a genuine international order. But for the present the British contribution can be most usefully considered in the context of Big Three relationships.

Although the total power of Britain, even with the Commonwealth, will be perceptibly less than that of either of the other partners, it will still be of immense importance. One of the chief assets that the British have to offer is simply that of a strategic geographical location. For the United States especially Britain's position as a strong power on the edge of the European Continent is absolutely vital, as vital, and for substantially the same reasons, as France is to Britain. In the nineteen-twenties the British failed to recognize how dependent they were on the strength and stability of France. The years 1940-4 brought more than merited retribution, when they found themselves waging a continental war without a continental foothold. As an advanced base, as a channel by which American military power can, if necessary, be transmitted to Europe, the British Isles are indispensable, although it is conceivable that sometime in the future new weapons of destruction may neutralize the advantage. Of comparable value are the strategic areas and key bases controlled by Britain. It is unnecessary to recall how dependent on British ports and strong points allied operations have been—in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Pacific. The supplying of Russia by way of Iran, for example, would have been impossible without British command of the necessary posts in the Middle East, however ample the output of American war factories. The intentions of the United States with regard to additional overseas bases have not yet been clarified, but complete independence of British strategic resources is neither probable nor desirable. For the future of Anglo-American co-operation rests on the premise that not only are there no fundamental conflicts of strategic interests between the two powers but that their views of international morality are similar, that, in short, "they can trust each other."¹⁵

It is, of course, a fallacy to discuss Britain's position within the Big Three and in the post-war world simply in terms of material assets. The imponderables in the situation need not, indeed cannot, be analysed in any detail, but their importance

¹⁵Fox, *The Super-Powers*, 55.

must be insisted upon. There is, for example, the prestige that accrues to Britain, as well as the power that she wields, as the leading member of the Commonwealth, even though some of the Dominions, more than in the past, will be looking to Washington as well as to London. The cultural leadership which she has enjoyed for centuries, the inventiveness and technical skill of her people (radar and jet propulsion stand as warnings against concluding that these qualities belong only to the past) and the fact that historically Britain has been the home of the values which the war is being fought to preserve—all these are sources of influence in the world of nations.

Less tangible but even more central is the British will-to-national-survival, morale, or whatever one wishes to call it. No doubt it is the result of complicated historical forces, and under some conditions it can take forms which the foreigner finds baffling and even annoying in its innocent assumption of superiority. But in essentials British morale is simply the conviction, rational or irrational, that Britain has always come out on top and any other issue would be unthinkable. The less promising the outlook, the higher British morale will probably rise, as has been magnificently demonstrated during the past five years. A few days after the fall of Tobruk a visitor from America was having tea with an English friend, when the husband of the hostess "blew in from the War Office, looking as worried as I felt. 'What's giving me a headache,' he said, 'is the Army of Occupation'."¹⁶ It would be absurd to deny that the confidence which this incident typifies had much to do with saving Britain in the months after Dunkirk, and it would be just as absurd to discount its importance in assuring Britain a place of dignity and power in the post-war world.

There is also the matter of political experience, of which, throughout the centuries, the British nation has accumulated such a rich store. Englishmen have shown themselves marvellously skilled in political devising, in creating serviceable governmental forms and adapting the old to new purposes. In the future, their gift for compromise and accommodation, their habit of settling questions by discussion and consent can find an even greater field for expression. For the chance of grave discord among the Big Three cannot be lightly dismissed, least of all by a student of history. It is almost a law of life of coalitions that they tend to fall apart as soon as the pressures which formed them have been relaxed, and in the present instance the United Nations organi-

¹⁶I. A. R. Wylie, *Flight to England* (New York, 1943), 131.

zation will reduce but not entirely eliminate the possibility. The alliance which has brought the European war to a close can easily break down into a precarious global balance of power. In fact, it can be reasonably argued that something like a balance is now being established, although, if the super-powers will persist in their will to agree, this need have no particularly ominous connotations. The main elements in the balance are, of course, the United States and the Soviet Union, with the British position not yet established. Strategically Britain and the United States are magnificently complementary, so much so as to lead writers to refer, a little too readily, to "the Anglo-American position," "the Anglo-American orbit," and the like, and it is obvious that the ultimate security of some British interests will depend on the willingness of the United States to underwrite them. British and Russian strategic policies, on the other hand, hold more possibilities of conflict, especially in the Middle East.

Under these conditions it will perhaps be difficult for British statesmen to avoid one of two courses, either of which would prejudice the cause of peace. One would be to attempt to improve Britain's status by discreetly playing the stronger partners against each other. But it would be a hazardous game, for a serious misunderstanding between the United States and Russia would place the British in an extremely unenviable spot. The other course would be to move decisively to the American side of the balance, to follow the direction indicated by common strategic interests. But the formation of an Anglo-American bloc as a counterpoise to Russia would be hardly less dangerous than trying to hold the balance. Not only would it proclaim the division of the world into two major power systems, or something approaching that, but it would not take adequate account of British interests. For, although strategically Britain has more in common with the United States than with the Soviet Union, in the economic field the case is not so clear. Here the interdependence that was so striking in the realm of strategy seems to vanish and in its place looms the prospect of intense and perhaps bitter competition. But the economies of Britain and the Soviet Union more nearly supplement each other, and there are strong arguments for Anglo-Russian co-operation in that sphere. It would therefore be a grave error in statesmanship for the British to develop Anglo-American collaboration to a point which would jeopardize their cordial relations with the Soviet Union. Britain's opportunity lies rather in helping to consolidate the unity of the Big Three

(and through them of the United Nations), interpreting the one to the other and encouraging in both a sense of world responsibility to which a long history as a global power has trained her.

V

The primary interest of Britain, then, lies in the creation of an international community with effective peace machinery. In practice this implies not only vigorous support of the United Nations organization but an equally strong determination to preserve the solidarity of the Big Three, without which no general international collaboration is possible. Such concerns are common, in a greater or less degree, to all civilized nations. But questions of foreign policy and power in relation to policy become acute as we approach the more specific and individual interests of Britain which must be protected, with or without a collective security system. Although the form in which these issues must be met is different from that of the pre-war years, Britain's fundamental strategic interests have not been altered by the war. They remain, in fact, about what they have been since the eighteenth century.

The first of these considerations is manifestly the security of the home islands, presumably security against disturbance from the European Continent. Historically this has meant the maintenance of naval command of the English Channel and the North Sea, the independence of the Low Countries, and a balanced alignment on the continent under which no single power could acquire a dominant position, especially in western Europe. The second major interest of Britain follows also from her geographical location and her position as central member of the Commonwealth and Empire. British policy must be directed to keeping open the essential lines of overseas communication which bind the Empire together and on which the home islands depend for food and raw materials. These aims have been such constants of British policy in the past that they seem hardly more than historians' *clichés*. What has changed is not British interests but British power to defend them—that and the conditions under which strategic policies must be formulated and carried out.

It is ironic that, during the twenty years' truce, British foreign policy was least decisive when dealing with the most rudimentary of all British interests. Only gradually did it appear that the continental balance-of-power formula, which had already failed

once, was no solution to the problem of British security. This war has demonstrated the utter vulnerability of Britain to modern weapons, and it has answered, with tragic emphasis, the age-old question, "Is or is not Britain a part of Europe?" Britain is a European nation, in fact, the leading power of western Europe, and in the future British policy must accept that as axiomatic. A limited-liability philosophy covered nineteenth-century relations with the continent adequately enough. Now it is all or nothing. British security is so closely involved in a satisfactory answer to the continental problem that it must be the primary consideration in British policy. With her global interests, Britain can never cease to be a world power, unless she is ready to face extinction. But in the years to come her world influence is bound to diminish and she will probably be increasingly concerned with Europe, more so, indeed, than for over a century.

A major test of British statesmanship will be the quality of leadership that can be offered to western Europe. Mr. Cyril Connolly puts the point strikingly: "England will find itself in the position of one of those fairy-tale princes who drift into a tournament, defeat a dragon or a wicked knight, and then are obliged to marry the king's daughter and take on the cares of a confused, impoverished, and reactionary kingdom. That kingdom is Europe, the new dark continent. . . . If England fails to unite Western Europe it fails as a world power."¹⁷ To speak of uniting western Europe is to recall a project that has been proposed and shelved more than once during the past two or three years. The varying fortunes encountered by the plan for an association of western European democracies have had little to do with its inherent merits or defects, and there are sound arguments for such a regional organization. But mention of it inevitably raises the troublesome question of security zones, spheres of influence, or power blocs under the sponsorship of one of the victorious nations—more than that, it calls up the spectre of a world divided between two or three competing super-powers, each with its group of satellite states. This matter of security zones has been one of the danger spots of inter-allied collaboration. On this side of the Atlantic special spheres are often regarded as simply another perversity of Old World power politics. But the American who professes horror at European spheres of influence will have difficulty in justifying the Monroe Doctrine. At the outset one must probably accept the

¹⁷Cyril Connolly, "England and the Arts" (*Harpers Magazine*, July, 1945, 87-8).

premise that zones of special interest are not only inevitable but within limits reasonable enough.

The terms "security zone," "sphere of influence," and the like, however, cover a variety of relationships, some of them fairly unobjectionable, others distinctly sinister. Granted that with security spheres the line separating a regional association from a power bloc is difficult to draw. Probably your zone is a power bloc and mine a regional association, though in sober fact most combinations contain elements of both. Certainly such spheres are morally indefensible when the dominant power uses its position to interfere unduly in the domestic affairs of the smaller states. One need only recall the experience of the Metternich system to underline the point. To attempt to exercise too close control over the governments within security zones, to maintain or impose régimes clearly repugnant to the peoples concerned not only creates an intolerable situation for the weaker nations but, as it has already threatened to do, rapidly leads to suspicion and distrust among the Great Powers themselves.

Such objections would hardly apply to a free association of western European democracies within the larger security organization, an association whose major purpose would be neither to balance Russian influence nor to enhance British power. The primary aim would be the security of its members, for the war has demonstrated the strategic unity of the area and has emphasized the mutual dependence of the various countries. The post-war period will reveal a similar need for co-operation in the field of economic policy. Furthermore, the attitude of other powers towards a western European association may prove somewhat less forbidding than in the past, for the conflict between regionalism and universalism in security arrangements, if not resolved, has been partly clarified. The attempt made at Yalta to prevent the partition of Europe into zones of special influence proved during the succeeding weeks to have failed. Plainly the Russians were not inclined to give up their special position in central and eastern Europe or to deny themselves in advance a similar zone in the Far East. In the western hemisphere the Act of Chapultepec again stressed regionalism as a cardinal point in American foreign policy. And, although the United Nations charter is concerned chiefly with general security arrangements, regional interests could be by no means ignored at San Francisco. In short, regionalism must be accepted as a factor in the future security system.¹⁸

¹⁸This and the following two paragraphs owe something to an article, "New Model in Europe?" (*Economist*, 722-4).

This being true, the Soviet Union and the United States would be on doubtful ground if they were to veto a western European association. The project would have to be dissociated from the motives that inspired the Smuts proposal, and the first steps would have to be tentative, presumably a series of informal understandings among the various members rather than a binding constitution. Obviously these agreements might tend to add some strength to the British position, but by no means enough to disturb either of the other super-powers. Strategically the association would provide added insurance against German aggression, would lend further substance to the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet pacts. To build up on the borders of Germany a group of democratic powers with common military and economic arrangements would strengthen rather than impair the security of the United States and Russia. If the Soviet Union faces any future peril in Europe, it will not come from a group of western democracies. The real danger would follow upon the break-up of the coalition. And for one of the Great Powers to force its advantage too far, in this case for the Soviet Union to prevent the closer co-operation of western democracies while regarding its own sphere as a settled matter or to play British and French off against each other would be to drive Britain away from Russia and into greater intimacy with the United States. Even more dangerous to European stability, Germany's bargaining power and the value of her diplomatic support would be enormously enhanced.

Such Great Power considerations appear to ignore an equally important element in any western association, the prospective members themselves. Generally speaking, the smaller powers have learned to their cost that neutrality is no solution, and they are aware of the advantages that political and military co-operation would hold. Given their present political temper, they would perhaps be better disposed towards the Labour government than towards the late Coalition. Both Norway and the Netherlands seem prepared to collaborate, and in Belgium the chief opposition has been that of the Communists, whose boos could, of course, be readily converted into cheers by a change of opinion in Moscow. The ideas of the French are bound to be divided as long as their internal and international situations remain as ambiguous as at present. No doubt the drive for prestige which General de Gaulle has carried on so vigorously aims at an international status higher than that of Britain's junior partner in a regional association. Yet the welfare of France and western Europe will, in the

future, be indissolubly bound up with the security of Britain, and that security will require a closer identification of British efforts with those of the western European democracies, in or out of a formal association.

Western Europe must thus assume a larger place in British calculations. But even though the stature of Britain as a world power tends to diminish, her world interests are as vital as ever and these must be maintained as far as national resources will allow. What must follow, however, is a more rigorous distinction between primary and secondary interests, those which must be defended at all costs and those which might be sacrificed without fatal results. Although, as a British interest, the supply lines of the Empire stand second only to western Europe, there are obvious gradations among them. Some, moreover, are equally vital to the United States which would be as thoroughly committed to their defence as to the support of Britain's position in western Europe. In the view of most Englishmen, official and non-official, the one indispensable sea-lane is, of course, the route to the East *via* the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, and the security of this route must continue to be, as in the past, a primary charge on British diplomacy and power.

It is much easier to demonstrate the importance of the Mediterranean-Middle East complex than to prescribe for its security. The war has shown how dangerously exposed it is, and, indeed, even before 1939 one group of British strategists, persuaded that the Mediterranean would be unusable in a major war, advocated abandoning Malta and moving the bulk of the fleet elsewhere.¹⁹ The full outlines of British post-war policy in the area have not yet emerged, and the Labour government may well attempt to erase some of those that have become visible. It has evidently been the British purpose to strengthen and extend the sphere of influence that was already in existence, a project which differs in principle and application from the plan for a free association of western democracies. The Mediterranean was to be bordered not only on the south and east but on the north as well by states whose friendliness was assured, and in some instances at least, co-operativeness appears to have been construed as willingness to support political forms acceptable to Conservative statesmen in London. Because of the need for air bases more extensive and more widely scattered than those hitherto under the British flag, it is probably inevitable that the British should

¹⁹*Political and Strategic Interests*, 127.

claim a special position in some of the late Italian colonies. And the economic importance to Britain of the Middle East, as an artery of trade and as an indispensable source of oil, re-enforces the strategic case.

British policy in the Mediterranean and Middle East will not, therefore, be entirely innocent of sphere-of-influence considerations. But to push such aims too far would be self-defeating. For one thing, it is doubtful how far Russia and the United States would permit a special position to be consolidated. Certainly the Soviet Union has not so far discarded traditional Russian foreign policy as to be indifferent to the Middle East. Against Russia the British position could be maintained only, if at all, with American support, and it is by no means clear that this would be forthcoming. The United States has no territorial or sphere-of-influence aspirations in the Middle East. The open door and political stability (together with reasonably free access to some of the vast oil deposits) are the major American concerns. But it is safe to say that neither government nor public opinion would view with other than hostility a disposition to make of the Middle East a British economic and strategic preserve.²⁰

Not only would a sphere-of-influence policy pushed to extremes lead to discord among the Great Powers; in the long run it would be impossible of execution. For the states of the Middle East, though still weak, are no longer the kind of primitive areas which in the late nineteenth century were readily absorbed and administered. They are now animated by nationalistic emotions, some of them of a fairly intemperate sort, and they are not without weapons in their fight for self-determination. It will be a temptation for the British to balance one against another. But a lasting influence will not be built on such foundations. As the leading power in the Middle East, Britain can make to world peace a contribution of inestimable value, if she so wills it. Although the immediate gain may appear to be less, British policy will ultimately accomplish more for British national interests by co-operating impartially with the various nationalities and seeking to resolve their quarrels, by encouraging their association rather than following a *divide et impera* philosophy.

The urgency of British strategic interests varies, in a rough

²⁰It gravely distorts the fact to discuss the vast Mediterranean-Middle East area as though it were a unit. Obviously the interests of the powers involved differ greatly in character and degree from region to region. Such distinctions as these, however, can hardly find place in an article of this scope.

fashion, inversely with their distance from western Europe. Thus the Far East is a rather different matter from the Mediterranean-Middle East, for not only is the British stake less, but the power of the United States will be more evident and its policies more positive. In other words, although Britain is emerging from the war as the strongest power in the two areas most vital to her—western Europe and (assuming that Russian penetration does not affect the sections most important to the British) the Middle East—in the Far East the balance is otherwise. How extensive Russian influence is to be on the Asiatic mainland cannot be predicted at the present time—this notwithstanding the recent Russo-Chinese agreement—but in general the leading power in the Pacific will be the United States. It follows therefore that in framing a Far Eastern policy Britain must have regard not only for the demands made upon her resources by western Europe and the Middle East but also for the attitude of the United States. For, should Britain at any time lack the surplus of strength necessary for the protection of her legitimate interests in the Far East, American power will have to undertake their defence. In the Far East, in a greater degree than elsewhere, the lead will be played by the United States but Britain's will be more than a "bit" part. The two nations will, of course, be trade rivals in the East as elsewhere, and there may be a difference of views as to the destiny of former Japanese possessions, Hongkong, and other territories. Yet the points of conflict are trivial as compared with the zone of agreement, and if the two powers will co-operate on a far-sighted, liberal solution of the problems of the Pacific, there need be no great concern about power ratios.

VI

It is all but impossible to sketch the changing perspectives of the contemporary world without using colours more lurid than the scene justifies. To speak of the decline of Britain as a world power seems inevitably to imply decadence, to endorse the current absurdity, "Britain is through!" No conclusion could be less warranted. Counting England out is an old and fashionable international diversion in which many continental politicians and soldiers have taken part, to their later regret. And some uneasiness must be the lot of one who in print ventures to assign to Britain a future status below that of "top nation," in the now classic words of *1066 and All That*. But in sheer power, it is clear,

Britain no longer stands in the very front rank, and British foreign policy must reconcile and adapt itself to that fact. The nation's reconstruction problem, staggering enough in all conscience, is both more critical and more complicated than those of her two chief allies. For in a sense Russia and the United States will be moving with the currents of world change, while the British must be prepared to breast some of these same currents. The revolution which has diminished the importance of western Europe, including Britain, has magnified that of the other two powers, and not the least of the post-war trials through which the British must pass is that of adjusting themselves psychologically to this unfamiliar condition.

Yet there is a danger, which this paper has not wholly escaped, of being over-occupied with questions of material power. We have been so determined not to be quixotic about the post-war world, not to expect the impossible, that we may have set our sights too low. We hesitate to believe that victory was achieved by the United Nations simply because in the end they could mobilize superior striking power. It is our instinctive conviction that men and ideas, moral leadership, had something to do with the outcome. We recall that only five years ago the immortal Few showed the apparent logic of force to be anything but infallible. And if the victory of the United Nations is to be of more than negative significance, it must mark a stage in the transition, to borrow Bagehot's phrase, from the age of conflict to the age of discussion in the international world. The nation that will take the initiative boldly and imaginatively in this movement can gain a moral ascendancy impossible for those to whom material power is itself the ultimate. There are signs that the common men and women of Britain are not indifferent to the challenge, and the obligation is heavy on their new government to give the lead to the democratic forces of Europe and to merit their confidence. For the English tradition, which has established its association of free communities overseas, now faces the greatest task of all, that of laying the foundations of the world community.

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NEWSPAPERS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1840-1867*

ON August 9, 1833, in his first address to the public, Alexander Lawson, the eighteen-year-old editor and proprietor of the *Yarmouth Herald*, wrote as follows: "Newspapers have now become an appendage of civilization and abound in every enlightened country. They always increase with the intelligence of the people, and wherever they have been once fully established they are never abandoned. It would be difficult to enumerate the many advantages they confer on society: they scatter irresistibly the seeds of knowledge and freedom and multiply the subjects of social conversation, so that they are become a necessary element of social life." If this statement is true, and there is no reason to doubt it, for the youthful editor speaks as one having authority, it follows that the seeds of knowledge and freedom will be more widely scattered and the people as a whole be more articulate at that period in which a country is served by the largest number of newspapers. I have no doubt that, if Mr. Lawson were alive, he would admit that mere number was not sufficient and that in addition to a wide circulation of these papers some degree of continuity in both existence and policy was essential. He would probably admit also that there were other agencies of enlightenment and other stimulants of intelligence. None the less, he would probably stick to his guns and maintain that neither full knowledge nor complete freedom can be found in a country which has few newspapers, either from lack of ability to produce them or from combinations amongst publishers to stamp out rival opinions and to standardize policies. In any event, by Mr. Lawson's test the generation of Nova Scotians who lived between 1840 and 1867 must have been more enlightened than the preceding generation: for in that period the number of newspapers was greatly multiplied, their circulation increased, and their quality improved. He wrote at the close of that period which I have called the period of "Intellectual Awakening" and foreshadowed the "Age of Faith" in Nova Scotia; and he was destined to see a new newspaper spring up somewhere in the province for every year of his subsequent long life; but the trials, vicissitudes, and short lives of many of these newspapers must have forced him to the conclusion in his later years that, though Nova Scotians have never lost their taste for the newspaper as

*A paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

such, they have "abandoned" many individual newspapers both at birth and after they had been "fully established."

Between 1840 and 1867 alone, at least eighty newspapers were published in Nova Scotia for a shorter or longer time; but only six of these had a continuous existence throughout the entire period. Only nine others which had originated prior to 1840 carried on into the eighteen-forties; and only twenty-two of those which originated between 1840 and 1867 survived the latter year; but between those dates at least forty had their day and ceased to be.

Though eighty newspapers were published in Nova Scotia at some time or other during this period, there were never more than thirty in existence at one time, the average being little more than half that number; and most of them were published in Halifax. Pictou and Yarmouth managed to maintain two of opposing political views throughout the greater part of the period; but Cape Breton had great difficulty in maintaining one, under different names and frequent changes of management; and Bridgetown did not enter the field until the middle of the period.

At the beginning of 1839 there were thirteen newspapers published in Nova Scotia: nine in Halifax, one in Yarmouth, two in Pictou, and the other in Lunenburg. In 1848, although twenty-eight new ones had appeared in the interval, there were only eighteen in circulation: thirteen in Halifax, three in Yarmouth, one in Pictou, and the other in Sydney. In 1864, although thirty new ones had appeared since 1848, there were only twenty-four in the whole province: sixteen in Halifax, two in Yarmouth and Pictou, one each in Antigonish, Sydney, Liverpool, and Bridgetown. Between 1864 and 1868, eight new papers addressed the public, but on the latter date the total number in existence had risen to only twenty-eight: sixteen in Halifax, two at Yarmouth and Bridgetown, one each at Pictou, New Glasgow, Antigonish, Sydney, Liverpool, Berwick, Wolfville, and Amherst.

The period from 1839 to 1848, which saw twenty-eight newspapers make their initial bow to the public, was one of acute political and religious controversy and of high hopes of social and economic progress. Improvements in local means of communication and the inauguration of regular trans-Atlantic communication by steam were reflected in the hopes of both publishers and readers; and each political or social organization wanted a vehicle for its hopes or views, while all hoped to share in the increased amount of advertising. Hence we have a number of short-lived journals, literary, agricultural, denominational, and temperance; but only

the political newspapers or those which took part in political discussions had more than a brief existence; and of these the reform papers had the most widespread support.

The bitterness of the political discussions in this period is most manifest in the controversy between the Reformers and Lord Falkland's administration in 1844, when the *Christian Messenger* was not confining itself to the ordinary field of a religious periodical. On September 16 of that year the editor of the *Novascotian*, after insisting that "The Press of any country, where freedom is enjoyed, is an infallible index of public opinion," continued:

Of the *fourteen* newspapers published in Nova Scotia, only *three* sustain his Government. Two of these, the *Royal Gazette* and *Post* are conducted by a venal hireling of the men and views which these journals support. The other is the *Christian Messenger*, a violent political partizan paper, circulated under the cloke of religion, and controlled by the Attorney General. . . . What a picture is thus exhibited of the lean support which his Lordships "leader" and his colleagues derive from the people! The *Spirit of the Times* and the *Pictou Chronicle* in the East, and the *Yarmouth Herald* in the West, to say nothing of the journals in the Capital, are in vigorous hostility to the Administration. No wonder then that the Attorney General cherishes a spirit of malice, hatred and revenge towards the liberal Press—and particularly, as he must know that its opinions and those of three fourths of the people are identical.

A further illustration of the tendency to mix political and religious questions is seen in the controversy between the *Morning Post* and the *Novascotian* in 1847. The *Post* had asserted "The Editors of all the Great Liberal Organs are Roman Catholics, with an exception, and that one is an anythingarian." To this assertion the *Novascotian* replied, "That of the eight Liberal newspapers published in the Province, but three of them are in any way connected with Catholic interests, the *Recorder*, *Sun*, and *Volunteer*, while one of the proprietors of the former is a *Baptist*, and the senior partner of the two latter a *Methodist*. The other *five* Liberal papers are under the exclusive control of Protestants. The Cape Breton *Spectator*, is, we believe, edited by a churchman; The *Yarmouth Herald* by a Baptist; The *Eastern Chronicle* by a Presbyterian; The *Morning Chronicle* by ditto; The *Novascotian* by ditto."

The bitterness with which these politico-religious struggles were carried on obtained enthusiastic support from the various factions, whose views they formed or interpreted; but it often involved the respective editors in libel actions, which neither diminished the bitterness nor modified its expression in the future.

Nor was the support which the readers gave to their favourite newspaper always transmuted into coin of the realm to enable the publisher to meet his bills. The problem of collecting subscriptions was a perpetual nightmare to all publishers of the period, and many were the devices resorted to, from soft blandishment to harsh threat of legal action, in order to get the means to carry on. The following amusing item in the *Novascotian* of September 14, 1842, illustrates the problem while sparing the reader the tragic implications: "Not very Likely:—That our subscribers will remit us the amount of their subscription due, by the next mail. More than Likely:—That many of them will not pay us for years—and others never."

The editor of the *Novascotian* may have hoped to obtain his subscriptions by making his readers laugh at themselves. In any event he could feel secure in their friendly reception of the paper itself. But the proprietor of the *Cape Breton Spectator*, William C. MacKinnon, could be sure of neither subscriptions nor the goodwill of his subscribers and, after threatening legal action upon the delinquents, he professed his scorn of his critics in the following passage, which is more expressive of exasperation than of humour: "A Source of Laughter: There is little laughing matter connected with the arduous and never-ceasing toils of an Editor. Still one unfailing source of laughter to him consists in hearing the opinions expressed by num-skulls and dunces on his productions. These opinions are so original so would-be-sage and profound, that they never fail in exciting his risible organs."

However, despite their trials and shortcomings the editors of these Nova Scotian newspapers were contributing much to the general enlightenment of their fellow countrymen and creating a demand not only for their own publications but also for the best periodicals published elsewhere. By 1848, Sir John Harvey could write:

The press of Nova Scotia is as free as that of England, claiming and enjoying in fact the same privileges and restrained by the same laws. It displays a creditable degree of activity and ability, and, with the freedom, sometimes exhibits the licentiousness common to the press of the Mother Country. There are at present thirteen newspapers published in the capital and five in the interior. The circulation of English newspapers has increased an hundred fold since the Establishment of the line of steam packets, and all the leading British and Irish periodicals are looked for with as much eagerness, and received with as much certainty as the London newspapers were in Scotland and Ireland a few years ago. The cheap literature of the mother country is also widely diffused over this province, while the more expensive Books find their way to the collections of the wealthy or into the public libraries.

The year 1848 was a landmark in the history of the press as in the general history of Nova Scotia. In that year responsible government was finally conceded and henceforth political parties had to find new issues on which to divide within the new constitution. The two outstanding Tory papers, the *Times* and the *Post*, ceased publication in the summer of 1848 and the *Gazette* was brought under control of the popular party. A new crop of temperance, denominational, literary, and non-political papers now flourished for a season but were soon crowded out by new political and religious papers, which spoke with no uncertain voice on economic and political questions such as free trade or protection, government or private ownership of railways, reciprocal trade with the United States, or the union of the British North American colonies. At the same time more county towns become centres of newspaper activity and the papers which they publish have vicissitudes similar to those of the newspapers in Halifax.

Strange as it may seem the year 1864 is less of a landmark in the journalism of the province than the year 1848. Fewer new newspapers sprang into being and of those which did all except the *Bullfrog* were published in the county towns and added little to the character of the newspapers or much to the circulation of ideas, although perhaps they paid a little more attention to local history and local problems. The *Bullfrog* itself was not a product of local talent although published in Halifax. However, it is extremely interesting as an example of contemporary criticism of Nova Scotian journalism by temporary sojourners in the province who claimed the wider outlook of Europeans and professed the comparative point of view. They criticized the narrow outlook of Nova Scotian editors and publishers, their tendency to deal in personalities, and their intense local patriotism. They professed an open mind on the question of Confederation, and the paper's brief existence of less than a year seems to prove the contention of the editor of the *Olive Branch* that "none but ultra-political papers seem to be well sustained" in Nova Scotia during this period.

Of the six newspapers published throughout the period under review, the *Royal Gazette* is the oldest, and has had a continuous existence under various names since 1752. Beginning as the *Halifax Gazette*, on March 23, 1752, it adopted its present name, the *Royal Gazette*, on February 16, 1843. In the interval, it appeared as the *Halifax Gazette or the Weekly Advertiser*, the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, the

Nova Scotia Gazette, the *Royal Gazette* and the *Nova Scotia Advertiser*, and the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*. It should be noticed that through all these changes of name, indicating changes in management or conflict with the publishers of rival newspapers for a title, *Gazette* was always retained. This in turn indicates that this paper was always semi-official in character, first because it was the only newspaper in which official information could be published, and later as the one which aspired to official patronage, or would submit to official direction. When John Howe succeeded Anthony Henry as King's Printer in 1801 he called it the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, and this name seems to have had official sanction, for in 1843, when *Nova Scotia* was dropped and the present title, the *Royal Gazette*, was adopted, that volume was numbered XLII, as recognizing all the previous numbers of the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*; and current issues of the *Royal Gazette* follow this numbering.

During the struggle for responsible government the *Gazette* was more than a channel of official information and, as a newspaper, was expected to take sides on the public issues of the day, while the office of Queen's Printer became a party appointment. Space forbids further comment at this point but competition for this office will be illustrated later in discussing other newspapers.

The second paper to continue throughout this period was the *Halifax Journal* which made its first appearance on January 5, 1781, and was published by John Howe or John Howe and Sons until 1819, when it was sold to John Munro. Munro in turn sold it to William Penny in 1850, and he continued to publish it under the same name until April, 1854, when he issued it tri-weekly as the *Morning Journal*. In its early days it was rather conservative in form and matter and, even when it became a tri-weekly, it still posed as an independent journal "free from party ties," prepared to advocate the best interests of Nova Scotia regardless of section, class, or party. In June, 1856, as if to emphasize this attitude it added the phrase "and Commercial Advertiser" to its title; on the Confederation issue it took a definite stand in favour of the movement; when McCully quarrelled with Annand, it took him over as editor; and to emphasize its new position it changed its name to the *Unionist and Halifax Journal* on January 16, 1865. It retained this title and policy until the end. This was its title on March 3, 1869, which is the last number I have seen, and the late J. J. Stewart says that it ceased publication about 1870.

The third paper in this group was the *Acadian Recorder* which

was founded in 1813 and lasted until 1930. Founded by Anthony Holland, it was carried on by him alone until 1820, in partnership with E. A. Moody and his brother Philip until 1824, by his brother Philip until the end of 1836, by John English and Hugh Blackadar from 1837 until the death of English in 1857, and henceforth by the Blackadar family. It was a weekly only until September, 1864, when it commenced to appear tri-weekly, and as a daily in December, 1868. Under the Hollands it advocated moderate reform, under English and Blackadar it shared with the *Nova-scotian* the honours of battling for responsible government, but after responsible government was achieved it reflected the divergent views of the Reformers on various questions such as protection or free trade, private or government building of railways, Maritime Union or Confederation. But throughout its long career it was an outspoken, able paper and is indispensable for historical research in the period between the War of 1812 and Confederation.

The next paper in the series was the *Novascotian* or *Colonial Herald* founded in December, 1824, by G. R. Young, taken over by Joseph Howe three years later, and transformed by him into the leading weekly of British North America. As this paper is well known and as any adequate description of it would require more than a whole paper, I shall merely say that it was so popular under Howe's management, so comprehensive in its reviews of local, colonial, American, and British news and opinions that one could almost compile a history of the English-speaking world from its pages between 1830 and 1848. Moreover, the fact that it devoted so much attention to local literature and other cultural activities accounts for the fact that no purely literary newspaper or magazine could compete for any length of time with it. In 1840 it dropped the name *Colonial Herald*. After 1844 though it was controlled by the owner of the *Morning Chronicle*, it continued under its own name, and, in the same form until 1892, when its size was increased and its title changed to the *Novascotian and Weekly Chronicle*. In 1922 its size was reduced to its former dimensions and its title changed to the *Nova Scotian*, *Nova Scotia's Farm and Home Journal*. The last volume I have seen is volume C for 1925. Young adopted the motto, "Felix, qui potuit rerum, cognoscere causas"; but Howe changed this immediately to "The free constitution which guards the British press," and the latter was retained by the *Novascotian* until the end of 1922.

The next in order of time was the *Yarmouth Herald*, from the

prospectus of which I have already quoted. Founded in 1833 by Alexander Lawson, who was born in New Glasgow and served his apprenticeship with the *Colonial Patriot* of Pictou, it was conducted by him, with the exception of six years from 1845-50, when it was edited by Angus M. Gidney, until his death in 1895. It is still in existence. Under Lawson's hands it was the courageous mouth-piece of south-western Nova Scotia, and in the fight for self-government it gave voice to the Nova Scotian modification of New England democracy.

The last of this group was the *Christian Messenger*. It came into existence in January, 1837, as the organ of the Baptists and was at first printed by the press of the *Novascotian*; but in the battle over Acadia College it took an active part in political discussions and came into violent conflict with the Reformers. In 1843 Mr. Marshall said in the Assembly, "They call it the *Christian Messenger* but for my part, I call it the *Devil's Messenger*," and in 1844 the editor of the *Novascotian* complained that it was edited by a paid officer of the government who was drawing a salary of £900 a year, was a professedly religious paper but, as it had "sunk from being the independent organ of a respectable body of Christians to be the mere political engine of two or three intriguing lawyers and professors, it is only read by a section of the religious body to which it ostensibly belongs, and beyond that circle is regarded with well merited contempt." This paper continued to support Johnston and his party till after Confederation. It is still in existence after a series of mergers as the *Maritime Baptist*.

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Of the nine newspapers which started in the eighteen-thirties and ceased publication in the eighteen-forties, the first in time but not in importance was the *Pictou Observer*, which made its appearance in 1831 as the organ of Scottish conservatism. It struggled in an unsympathetic atmosphere for ten years, lapsed but was revived twice in the early eighteen-forties and finally ceased publication.

The next was the *Halifax Times*, the best edited and most ably managed of all the newspapers which supported the official class in its struggle against the Reformers. It was established in 1834 by William Gossip and Charles Coade and lasted until 1848, when it sold out to Alpin Grant of Pictou who had served his apprenticeship with the *Observer*. During its fight against the

Reformers, the *Times* had tried to play up its loyalty to the British connection, had opposed Durham's recommendations for union and responsible government, had emphasized the importance of economic development in preference to constitutional reform, and generally speaking supported the more enlightened conservative opinion of the day. It was less extreme than the *Morning Post* which however did not start until 1840 and therefore must be noticed later.

The only other frankly conservative paper was the *Yarmouth Conservative*, projected in 1839 as a semi-weekly by Richard Huntington, a grandson of Miner Huntington, and a young man under twenty-one. He attempted to exploit the Loyalist tradition, the upsurge of loyalty after the Canadian rebellion, and, like the *Times*, to take his readers' minds off constitutional reform by rejoicing in material progress. However, he found that a conservative paper could not flourish in the social democracy of Yarmouth any more than in the ecclesiastical democracy of Pictou, and in July, 1840, Mr. Huntington announced a new venture in the *Cape Breton Advocate*. Though projected as a semi-weekly, it is doubtful if it appeared oftener than once a week, and it lasted only six months.

The second semi-weekly newspaper to be projected in Nova Scotia was the *Haligonian and General Advertiser* by Jacob D. Kuhn. Unlike the *Yarmouth Conservative*, it posed as neutral in politics and emphasized the advantage to merchants of a paper which appeared more frequently; but like Mr. Huntington he failed and sought a new field of opportunity in Cape Breton. The first number of the *Haligonian* appeared on October 22, 1839, and was welcomed by the *Novascotian*, which referred to Mr. Kuhn as an upright and industrious man and bespoke the patronage of the public so that he would be able to maintain an independent position in the occupation to which he had been bred. None the less, the *Haligonian* lasted less than a year.

Of the remaining five papers in this group one was primarily literary, another technical, and three denominational. The literary effort was a weekly, published between 1837 and 1840 by William Cunnebell, first as the *Pearl*, then as the *Halifax Pearl*, and finally as the *Colonial Pearl*. The *Pearl* was a high-class periodical, edited first by Thomas Taylor and later by John S. Thompson, but, despite the rising local patriotism of that period, it failed for lack of support.

The *Mechanic and Farmer* was published in Pictou by John

Stiles, who was born in Cornwallis but educated in Pictou and trained in the office of the *Colonial Patriot*. As its name implies it was the mouthpiece of the more democratic elements of Pictou County especially those engaged in agriculture, and ran for five years (1838-43) before it was merged with the *Presbyterian Banner* to become the *Eastern Chronicle*.

Of the three religious periodicals the first was the *Colonial Churchman* published semi-monthly from 1835 as an organ of the Church of England. It was printed at Lunenburg by E. A. Moody and ran into the early eighteen-forties. The next was the *Wesleyan*, a semi-monthly organ of the Methodists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, published by William Cunnabell of Halifax and edited by the Reverend Alex. W. McLeod of Windsor. It succeeded a Methodist quarterly which had commenced in 1832 but had a short life. It also had a short life but was revived after 1848. The third religious periodical of this group was the *Guardian*, an organ of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia, published by James Spike. It lasted from 1838 to 1850.

The year 1840 introduced a new type of newspaper, the tri-weekly penny paper, which aimed at larger circulation and sought its chief market in Halifax itself. This year also saw the first use of the power press which made possible more rapid printing and enabled the editors to gather later news before publication. The first penny paper issued in Nova Scotia was the *Morning Herald and Commercial Advertiser*, published by William Cunnabell at 12s. 6d. per annum, single numbers a penny. It was at first a small sheet of four pages and appeared on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. In 1842 it was enlarged as the *Halifax Morning Herald and General Advertiser* and bore a motto in Latin and English. "Est brevitae opus, ut currat sententia" (Horace): "Let brevity despatch the rapid thought." Four years later it dropped "Halifax" from the title and changed its motto to "Omne quod in cursu est viget": "Circulation the life of the Press." It ran for about nine years. The last copy I have seen was dated May 17, 1848. On the whole it was devoted to news rather than politics.

Encouraged by the success of the *Morning Herald*, John H. Crosskill brought out the first number of the *Halifax Morning Post and Parliamentary Reporter*, the second tri-weekly penny paper to be published in the province, on October 1, 1840. In his address to the public he disclaimed all intention of competing with the weekly newspapers of the day, or even with the *Herald*.

Rather he wished to co-operate with the *Herald* by serving the public on the three days of the week left open by it. With abundance of materials and an excellent power press (the first ever imported into Nova Scotia) he could have thrown off a daily paper; but, having no desire to abridge the credit and support obtained by Mr. Cunnabell on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he resolved to appropriate the three unemployed days, and "thus give the community of Halifax the advantage of having a *daily newspaper* laid on their breakfast table, every morning, for the low price of five dollars a year, or only one penny per day." He announced a policy of catering for the public taste and labouring to send abroad information. While avoiding religious and political discussion, he would always keep his readers in touch with the latest and most interesting foreign and domestic intelligence, movements in national politics, achievements in science, progress and variation of commerce, advancement of literature, novelties of fashion and the drama, together with detailed and accurate reports of legislative proceedings, trials, public meetings, accidents, disasters, etc. In a word, he sounded the modern note of emphasis on news as such and circulation as an end in itself. With this prospectus he looked confidently for encouragement and support which would convince him that "no *native* labourer in the intellectual vineyard of Nova Scotia" should go unrewarded.

Mr. Crosskill was another of those young Nova Scotians, who expressed the hopes of the period, and, though only twenty-three years old at the time, claimed to have served the public in the reporting department for five years, and for two sessions to have reported the debates of the legislature for two weekly papers, and in one session for three, with "unimpeachable correctness." He therefore thought himself justified in promising accurate reports in the future.

The *Post* apparently caught the mood of the moment and prospered greatly; but it was not able to maintain its claim of neutrality in politics and religion, despite its constant reiteration of that stand. In October, 1841, after experimenting with double sheets for special occasions, it appeared in a much enlarged size which it maintained until December 31, 1842, when it reduced its size considerably. In the meantime, on October 1, 1842, it had adopted the motto "*Libertas et Natale solum*," which it kept until the end of September, 1847; but it varied its descriptive headings almost every year. From October 1, 1842, to October 3, 1843, it was "A triweekly Journal: neutral in Politics and Re-

ligion." From October 3, 1843, to December 31, 1844, it was "A Journal of Literature and Intelligence, Independent of Sect and Party." In October, 1844, Mr. Crosskill transformed the tri-weekly into a daily; and, in January, 1845, he called the editions of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the *Halifax Morning Post and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, "A family Newspaper; Devoted to Polite Literature, Science, History, Biography, Education, Fashion, Humor and General Intelligence," while the paper which appeared on the old days of the *Post* was called the *Halifax Morning Post and Parliamentary Reporter*, "A Journal of Commercial, Political, Agricultural and General Intelligence: Devoted to the Support of Constitutional Government." The former alone carried the motto "Libertas et Natale Solum."

In October, 1846, Thomas Moser appears as publisher of both papers and his name continues as publisher until the middle of September, 1847. On September 15, Mr. Moser issues a small sheet called the *Halifax Morning Post, Political Examiner and Literary Gazette*, with the old motto of the *Post*; and continues this as a daily until September 28, when he announces that his office is being removed to a new building on Prince Street opposite the Halifax Library. On October 1, 1847, a new paper appears from this address, the exact size of the old *Post* and called the *Halifax Morning Post and Protestant Loyalist*, with the motto, "Faithful and Fearless," and it is published henceforth on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; but from January 3, 1848, until it ceases publication on June 30, Grant and Fraser are listed as publishers. At the same time the *Morning Courier, Parliamentary Reporter and Literary Gazette* is issued from the old address of the *Post*, printed for the proprietor by Robert Allison.

All these bewildering changes of name, office, and publisher were not due merely to economic vicissitudes but had a definite political significance, growing out of Mr. Crosskill's position as Queen's Printer. As long as Falkland was Lieutenant-Governor, Crosskill was expected to be a violent political partisan; but, when Sir John Harvey assumed the reins of government, he had to change his tone and according to the *Novascotian* it was a hint from Sir John which prompted the nominal sale of the *Post*, though not the subterfuges by which he tried to have his cake and eat it. As both Moser and Allison were in Mr. Crosskill's employ it was not difficult to detect a subterfuge in giving their names as publishers of the two tri-weekly newspapers into which the daily *Post* had been divided; and, as Mr. Miller, to whom the *Post* was

alleged to have been sold finally, was also a clerk in his employ, it was not more difficult to see another subterfuge in this transfer of ownership. But, despite the eagle eye of the *Novascotian* in exposing his jugglery of 1847, Mr. Crosskill's bag of tricks was not yet empty, as his subsequent manœuvres prove. On June 27, 1848, the *Halifax Times* made its last appearance having been sold to Grant and Monroe. On June 28 Mr. Crosskill ceased to publish the *Royal Gazette* as Queen's Printer. On June 30 the *Post* ceased publication on the pretext of having been sold to Mr. Miller; but the *Morning Courier* continued to appear as usual from Mr. Crosskill's office, though still under Allison's name. Suddenly on July 3 the *New Times* appeared from no. 9 Prince Street; but on July 10, the "new" was dropped and the *Times* was issued from Mr. Crosskill's old office, no. 6 Cheapside. Henceforth the two papers appeared from Mr. Crosskill's office on alternate days; but it was not until October 2 and 3 respectively that they were frankly claimed by John H. Crosskill and Co. and, not until the end of the year, that they were definitely merged to appear as the *Times and Courier*.

In the meantime, the editor of the *Novascotian* had castigated Mr. Crosskill unmercifully for his sharp practice in stealing the name of the *Times* from Grant and Monroe, who had purchased the plant; Mr. Gossip assured the latter that the original proprietors of the *Times* had not connived in the assumption of their name by the editor of the *Morning Post* but on the contrary had included in the sale the subscription list of the *Times*; and Grant and Monroe admitted that Mr. Crosskill's assumption of the old name had induced them to choose the new name, *British Colonist*, but that their new title expressed their view that colonial prosperity would be best attained by the British connection.

While Mr. Crosskill was still hiding behind the names of Miller and Allison one issue of the *Courier* accidentally bore the *Times* heading on the inside sheet. This gave the editor of the *Novascotian* a chance to review the whole story in a caustic vein, and to inform the public that the two papers were really owned and directed by the same person. I quote the last two sentences of this review. "We believe we are the first to announce the fact of the reunion, which is of the most intimate and endearing kind—the names of both papers, like the pictures of Her Majesty and Prince Albert, or the pictures of Punch and Judy on the copy-books, gracing the same sheet. As they have been lovely in their lives may they never again be divided."

Censured by friends and enemies alike, Mr. Crosskill did not make a success of the merger; and, before the year 1849 was half over, he decided to discontinue it and start anew on other lines. In the *Times and Courier* for June 30 he issued a prospectus of the *British North American*, which was to be a weekly newspaper with an appeal to both the colonists of British North America and the people of the mother country. However, the first number of this paper did not appear until July 20, 1850. It became a tri-weekly in April, 1855, and lasted at least throughout that year.

I have dealt at length with the *Morning Herald* and *Morning Post* because they introduced a new type of paper and of journalism, and illustrate the instability of those publications which have no principle except catering to the public and no policy but increase of circulation. For the remainder of this paper, I can merely list new newspapers and give a line or two as to their policy.

The only other newspaper which originated in 1840 was the *Cape Breton Advocate*, published at Sydney by Richard Huntington and edited by the Reverend Otto S. Weeks, principal of the Grammar School. It ran until the end of 1841 when the press was taken over by J. D. Kuhn, who published the *Spirit of the Times*, an agricultural, commercial, literary, and general newspaper. It lasted until 1846, when the plant was again sold to William C. McKinnon, who changed the name first to the *Cape Breton Spectator* but afterwards to the *Times and Cape Breton Spectator*. The latter ceased publication in 1850 and was succeeded by the *Commercial Herald*, which lasted but a few months. McKinnon in turn sold to James P. Ward, who published the *Cape Breton News* and conducted it successfully until 1871 or 1872.

Returning to the peninsula, we find three newspapers projected in 1841: the *Farmers' Journal* of Windsor, published by William Small, which seems to have died almost at birth; the *Colonial Farmer* of Halifax, published by Mr. Nugent and edited by Titus Smith, which ran for two years; and the *Register*, a weekly newspaper, devoted to the affairs of Ireland and her national faith. The latter was projected by J. R. Fitzgerald but later published by A. J. Ritchie. It ran for at least five years and frequently engaged in controversy with most other papers of the day.

The year 1842 ushered in three tri-weekly penny papers and two weeklies. The first tri-weekly was the *Day Star*, published by A. J. Ritchie. It promised to eschew politics and religion, to stress commercial reports and adorn its pages with light flowers of literature. It was an attractive little sheet but lasted less than

three years. The other two were the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Morning News*. I have not seen a copy of this early *Morning Chronicle* but I have seen a copy of the *Morning News* as late as December, 1846, at which time it was a weekly and still published by Mr. Cunnebrell. In any event, the *Novascotian* of August 17, 1842, says, "Two new penny papers have been started during the present week, the *Morning Chronicle* by Mr. Barnes from New Brunswick and the *Morning News* by Mr. Cunnebrell. Mr. Cunnebrell now issues a paper daily from his office and thus affords additional inducement for advertisers. Such enterprise should not go unrewarded." If this statement be true, and it certainly is in regard to Mr. Cunnebrell, it would appear that the *Morning Chronicle* was founded in August, 1842, and purchased by Mr. Annand from Mr. Barnes as the *Novascotian* had been purchased from Mr. Nugent at the end of 1843.

From the *Novascotian* also we learn of the *Mediator*, but nothing except the following item: "J. R. Fitzgerald has announced his intention of issuing a paper about the middle of the month [August, 1842] to be called *The Mediator*. He says the paper will be under his sole controul, and he will consider himself responsible for whatever may appear in its columns." Whether it appeared and for how long, I have as yet no further information.

But in Pictou the *Presbyterian Banner* definitely emerged in 1842, edited by the Reverend James Ross and printed by John Stiles as the organ of the Presbyterians of Nova Scotia distinct from the members of the Church of Scotland, who found their outlet in the *Guardian*. The *Banner* was merged with the *Mechanic and Farmer* before mentioned to produce from 1843 to the present day the *Eastern Chronicle* which was published at Pictou until 1868, since then in New Glasgow.

Besides the liberal *Eastern Chronicle* the year 1843 gave birth to the conservative *Yarmouth Courier*, and the *Cross* and the *Olive Branch* of Halifax. The *Yarmouth Morning Courier*, a semi-weekly paper appeared in November, 1843, published by John G. Bingay, who announced that in politics and religion he would be strictly neutral. But as this paper was founded on the eve of the great controversy between Howe and Johnston, Mr. Bingay soon found that he could not remain neutral and he came out in vivid Tory colours. Like the *Times* and the *Post* this paper ceased publication after the overthrow of the Family Compact. Its plant was taken over by Handley Chipman Flint who published the *Temperance Gazette* for two years, between 1848 and 1850.

In Halifax, the *Cross* appeared on March 4, 1843, as an organ of the Roman Catholic Church and continued as a weekly until December 29, 1849, after which it seems to have been continued as a monthly; for it was in existence in 1856 and 1857, when it and the *Halifax Catholic*, a weekly published by J. and W. Compton from March 17, 1854, carried on the controversy with Howe and the papers which supported the *Protestant League* of that period.

The *Olive Branch*, "Devoted to Temperance, Education, Morality, Literature, Foreign and Domestic Intelligence," sponsored by the Halifax Temperance Society, appeared first on January 7, 1843, edited by Edward Young, Secretary of that society, and published by J. H. Crosskill and Co. Later it was edited and owned by Miss Sarah Herbert. The last number that I have seen was dated July 4, 1845, in which the plant was offered for sale. This weekly was a very respectable sheet of four pages and published a considerable amount of poetry and prose fiction with a temperance note. John McPherson, the Bard of Acadia, contributed amongst other poems one in "Praise of Water" which ran to eighty-two stanzas and another under the title "Temperance and Poetry," which was a violent attack on the vulgarity of Haliburton's "Letter Bag of the Great Western." It ceased publication after three years of struggle in a period when politics were all-absorbing.

The *Novascotian* of May 6, 1844, reported that Mr. Edmund Ward, contemplated publishing a monthly magazine in Halifax, but apparently he changed his mind and decided to continue in the newspaper game; for on July 8 the same paper announced the appearance of a new tri-weekly penny paper, the *Evening Gazette*, by Edmund Ward. How long this paper continued to appear, I have not been able to discover, but judging by Mr. Ward's past career as editor of the *Free Press* its policy would be ultra-conservative.

This and the *Morning Chronicle* under William Annand were the only two new papers which appeared in 1844. In the following year there was only one—the *Sun*, another tri-weekly, published by Ritchie and Nugent and edited by Nugent. It made its first appearance on March 17, 1845, changed its name to the *Halifax Sun* in 1850, and became a daily in 1852. On May 15, 1848, Ritchie and Nugent dissolved partnership and Nugent carried on alone until his health broke down between 1855 and 1858. In 1858 he died in Brooklyn, New York. In the meantime A. J. Ritchie took over the *Sun* first in partnership with a Mr.

Bulger, but after July, 1863, alone. He continued as editor and proprietor until his death in 1867, after which the *Sun* ceased publication. Its general policy was liberal.

In addition to the *Morning Courier* already discussed as an offshoot of the *Morning Post*, and the *Volunteer*, which I have not seen but which was referred to by Howe as a liberal paper, two new papers announced publication in 1847, the *Presbyterian Witness* which began a long and useful career in 1848, first as the organ of the Free Church and later as that of the Presbyterians in general; and the *Standard and Conservative Advocate*, published as a weekly by Gossip and Coade of the *Halifax Times* for distribution in the country districts during the last stages of the struggle against responsible government. Howe described it as "a mere electioneering kite flown for a particular purpose." It ceased publication early in 1848.

As already indicated, the death throes of the *Morning Post* in 1848 brought forth the *New Times*, the *Times*, and the *Times and Courier*, while the old *Times* of Gossip and Coade was succeeded by the *British Colonist* and the *Yarmouth Courier* was succeeded by the *Temperance Gazette*; but in addition to these, three others appeared for the first time in 1848: the *Bulletin*, the *Mirror* and the *Church Times*. The *Bulletin*, concerned with politics, literature and commerce, was published by Bowden and Compton and edited by A. W. Godfrey. It appeared on May 20, 1848, as a tri-weekly, but almost immediately became a semi-weekly and before the end of the year had ceased to exist. The *Mirror*, devoted to temperance, education, literature, historical news, etc., was published by Thompson and Ritchie and edited by J. S. Thompson. It lasted only from June 6, 1848, to November 28 of the same year. The *Church Times* published by William Gossip as an organ of the Church of England had better luck and lasted for almost ten years, when it was succeeded by the *Church Record*, published by James Bowes and Son, edited by J. B. Strong.

Between 1849 and 1867 two other denominational papers, one devoted to temperance, two journals of education, a journal of education and agriculture, and a journal of agriculture attempted to serve their respective constituencies. A new series of the *Wesleyan* published for the Methodists by William Cunnabell commenced publication in April, 1849, changed its name to the *Provincial Wesleyan* as the organ of the Methodists of the Maritime Provinces, and in the eighteen-seventies, again as the *Wesleyan* became the organ of the Methodist Conference of Canada. The

Burning Bush and *British Protestant Family Visitor* appeared in 1861 and, as its name implies, was rather anti-Catholic in tone especially at the time of the Fenian scare. It was published and edited by the Reverend D. F. Hutchinson and was still appearing in 1869. Both these papers were weeklies. The *Abstainer*, the organ of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, appeared as a semi-monthly in 1856 but was later expanded into a weekly and carried on until 1874.

When J. W. Dawson (afterwards Sir William) was Superintendent of Education he published a monthly *Journal of Education* from 1851 to 1853. His successor, the Reverend Alexander Forrester, published a *Journal of Education and Agriculture* from 1858 to 1860. In 1866, his successor, Dr. T. H. Rand, started the *Journal of Education*, which, in revised form, is still published.

From 1865 to 1885 a *Journal of Agriculture* was published by the Central Board of that time. It was edited by Professor George Lawson of Dalhousie, who was secretary of the Board, and was designed to keep the Agricultural Societies alive and to disseminate information amongst the farmers in general. It was printed by James Barnes.

One other special publication should be noted here, the *Weekly Miscellany*, devoted to the intellectual and moral improvement of the young. It was published by William Cunnebell in June, 1863, but did not last for more than a year.

The period subsequent to 1848 saw an increase in journalistic effort outside Halifax. In 1852 the *Casket* made its appearance in Antigonish, founded by John Boyd, and is still in existence. In 1854 the *Liverpool Transcript* was published at that town by S. J. M. Allen. It continued until after Confederation. In 1855 Richard Huntington commenced to publish the *Yarmouth Tribune* in Yarmouth, first as a semi-weekly, then as a weekly. It was more successful than his previous efforts but ceased with his death in 1883. In Pictou the *Colonial Standard* commenced publication in 1858, as a Conservative organ, owned and edited by the Honourable S. H. Holmes. It had a long but chequered career which ended in New Glasgow about 1915.

In Bridgetown at least four newspapers were published at intervals between 1856 and 1867. In 1856 W. A. Calnek established at Bridgetown the *Western News*, the first newspaper published in Annapolis County. In 1857 Noah Thomas published the *Examiner* which the *Novascotian* described as "a weekly sheet of ample proportions, well filled with literary and political matter,

original and selected." I have not seen either of these papers but I assume that they did not last long nor circulate at the same time, as the constituency was too small to support two papers. In 1860, the *Weekly Register* appeared in their place, published by Ingram B. Gidney and edited by Angus M. Gidney, who had served on both the *Novascotian* and the *Yarmouth Herald*. It was succeeded in 1863 by the *Free Press* with the same publisher and editor. The *Free Press* was apparently successful for it was in existence some time after Confederation, which movement it strenuously opposed.

In Hants County the only pre-Confederation newspaper was the *Avon Herald*, a semi-weekly, published in 1857 at Windsor, by Campbell S. Stevens who was both deaf and dumb and "under the deprivation of two of the most valued faculties of our nature" appealed to the public for generous support. I cannot find how long it lasted.

Kings County seems to have had a difficult time to decide upon a suitable name for a paper and a suitable place from which to publish. According to the late Dr. Eaton, the *King's County Gazette* was published in Canning by H. A. Borden, 1864-5, by Major Theakston from 1865 to 1866; the *Acadian* was published in Wolfville by Major and William Theakston from 1866 to 1869; and the *Star* was published in Berwick by James A. Halliday and H. E. Jefferson from 1866 to 1868, in Kentville by James A. Halliday from 1868 to 1873, and in Berwick from 1873 to 1879, but from 1879 to 1881 it was published in Wolfville by Walter L. Barss, Charles W. Knowles, and A. J. Steele in succession.

Cumberland County produced the *Amherst Gazette* in 1866, a weekly published by J. Albert Black, with the motto "salus populi suprema est lex." It continued until 1909.

In 1865 also J. B. Cossett inserted in the *Free Press* of Bridgetown the prospectus of a *Weekly Examiner* to be published at Digby as soon as preliminary arrangements could be completed. It was to be a family paper with particular attention to agriculture and free from partisan politics. It lasted for only two years.

In the meantime four new papers had sprung into vigorous existence in Halifax, three of which were able to carry on for more than a decade, despite the criticisms of the *Bullfrog*, which was the fourth, and lasted only a year, 1864-5.

The first of these was the *Evening Express and Commercial Record*, a tri-weekly published in 1858 by Compton and Bowden, from 1862 by Compton and Company. It was Conservative in politics and continued to appear until 1871 at least.

The *Halifax Reporter* was also a tri-weekly evening paper but claimed to be independent in politics. It was published in 1860 by Crosskill and Bourinot but after 1867 by Joseph C. Crosskill. Between 1876 and 1879 its name was changed to the *Reporter and Times* and it seems to have carried on throughout the eighteenthies.

The *Halifax Citizen* was established in 1862 by William Garvie and E. M. McDonald and published as a tri-weekly with the exception of part of the year 1870 when it was a daily. After Garvie separated from McDonald the paper was published by the Citizen Publishing Company. In 1877 the paper was purchased by the *Morning Chronicle* and appeared as the *Citizen and Evening Chronicle* until 1883. The *Morning Chronicle* had been a tri-weekly until August, 1864, when it appeared as a daily. From 1877 onwards it published both a morning and evening edition daily.

As a matter of curiosity I copy the following item from the *Bullfrog* of January 14, 1865, which paper was rather critical of Nova Scotian journalism and makes a rather daring attempt at disinterested comparison.

For the information of strangers visiting this city we have taken some pains to compile the following table which expresses the relative values of the different triweekly papers in terms of their original matter.

16	<i>Morning Journals</i>	make	one	<i>Sun</i>
2	<i>Suns</i>	do	one	<i>Recorder</i>
3	<i>Recorders</i>	do	one	<i>Express</i>
2	<i>Expresses</i>	do	one	<i>Reporter</i>
3	<i>Reporters</i>	do	one	<i>Citizen</i>
1½	<i>Citizens</i>	do	one	<i>Colonist</i>
10	<i>Colonists</i>	do	one	<i>Chronicle</i>

Surveying the whole period one cannot but feel that the province would have been as well served if one-third of the papers had been supported and enabled to continue throughout the period. It is doubtful if that proportion of the new papers reached subscribers who had no other paper; and it is not clear that they added much to the knowledge or wisdom of the general public or increased the total circulation. In the Roaring Forties there was an extraordinary repetition of material in the various papers, poems by the same author, news items copied from one another, legislative debates copied from the two or three newspapers which reported them, and so on. Moreover, the number of publishers did not exceed a dozen; so that, if they had been able to keep their established names before the public and had

thus maintained continuity of relationship with their constituencies, or expended their surplus energies in expanding their field, their influence would have been more widespread and effective. It is extremely doubtful if the province was as well covered by all the different papers published at this time as it is today by the *Chronicle* and the *Herald* alone. In 1851, a correspondent from Macan wrote Howe, the Provincial Secretary of the moment, in support of a petition for an office as a distributing centre for newspapers; and stated that there was not a newspaper taken for every twentieth family in that part of the township. Incidentally, he added what must have stirred Howe to action, "The people are mostly ignorant and illiterate, and as a necessary consequence many of them incline to Toryism, which I am convinced would not be the case had they the means of obtaining newspapers and other sources of information." Again, in 1865, a correspondent from Londonderry wrote Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary, that the people of that township took twenty copies of the *British Colonist* and nine or ten copies of the *Christian Messenger*. They were the right papers for Tupper but, obviously, there were not enough of them in circulation.

On the whole it is clear that the period from 1840 to 1867 was one of fluctuating hope as well as sustained achievement, that the newspapers both inspired and reflected these hopes and achievements, and that those which fell by the way as well as those which continued to the end, are the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, in Nova Scotia's "Age of Faith."

D. C. HARVEY

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax.

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1840-67¹

I

Those which started before 1840 and continued after 1867

- The Halifax Gazette and Royal Gazette, 1752 to the present.
- The Halifax Journal, 1781-1865; the Unionist and Halifax Journal, 1865-69.
- The Acadian Recorder, 1813-1930.
- The Novascotian, 1824-1925.
- The Yarmouth Herald, 1833 to the present.
- The Christian Messenger, 1837-84.

¹As complete files of few of these newspapers are still in existence it is difficult to be sure of the exact dates on which they terminated. Hence the numerous question marks.

II

Those which started before 1840 but stopped before 1867

- The Halifax Times, 1834-48.
- The Colonial Churchman (Lunenburg), 1835-41?
- The Pearl, Halifax Pearl, Colonial Pearl, 1837-40.
- The Pictou Observer, 1831-44?
- The Mechanic and Farmer (Pictou), 1838-43.
- The Wesleyan, 1838-43?
- The Guardian, 1838-51.
- The Yarmouth Conservative, 1839-40.
- The Haligonian and General Advertiser, 1839-40.

III

Those which started and stopped between 1840 and 1867

- The Morning Herald and Commercial Advertiser, 1840-8.
- The Halifax Morning Post and Parliamentary Reporter, 1840-8.
- The Cape Breton Advocate (Sydney), 1840-1.
- The Farmers' Journal (Windsor), 1841.
- The Colonial Farmer (Halifax), 1841-2.
- The Register, 1841-5.
- The Mediator, 1842.
- The Presbyterian Banner (Pictou), 1842-3.
- The Day Star, 1842-4.
- The Spirit of the Times (Sydney), 1842-6.
- The Morning Chronicle, 1842-3?
- The Morning News, 1842-6.
- The Cross, 1843-59?
- The Yarmouth Courier, 1843-8.
- The Olive Branch, 1843-5.
- The Evening Gazette, 1844.
- The Cape Breton Spectator, 1846-9.
- The Volunteer, 1847.
- The Standard and Conservative Advocate, 1847-8.
- The Halifax Morning Post and Protestant Loyalist, 1847-8.
- The Morning Courier, Parliamentary Reporter and Literary Gazette, 1847-8.
- The New Times, 1848.
- The Times, 1848.
- The Times and Courier, 1849.
- The Yarmouth Courier and Temperance Gazette, 1848.
- The Temperance Gazette, 1848-50.
- The Bulletin, 1848.
- The Mirror, 1848.
- The Church Times, 1848-57.
- The Church Record, 1859-65?
- The Cape Breton Commercial Herald, 1850.
- The British North American, 1850-5?
- The New Era (tri-weekly), 1851.
- The Journal of Education, 1851-3.
- The Athenaeum and Journal of Temperance, 1851-6.

- The Halifax Catholic, 1854-7.
- The Western News (Bridgetown), 1856.
- The Bridgetown Examiner, 1857-61?
- The Avon Herald (Windsor), 1857.
- The Journal of Education and Agriculture, 1858-60.
- The Digby Acadian, 1859-62.
- The Weekly Register (Bridgetown), 1860-3.
- The Free Press (Bridgetown), 1863-5?
- The Weekly Miscellany, 1863-4.
- The King's County Gazette, 1864-6.
- The Bullfrog, 1864-5.
- The Digby Weekly Examiner, 1865-7.

IV

Those which started between 1840 and 1867 and continued after

- The Eastern Chronicle (Pictou), 1843-68; (New Glasgow) to the present.
- The Morning Chronicle, 1844 to the present.
- The Sun, the Halifax Sun, 1845-67?
- The British Colonist, 1848-71?
- The Presbyterian Witness, 1848-1925.
- The Provincial Wesleyan, later the Wesleyan, 1849-1914, (Halifax), 1915-25 (Truro).
- The Cape Breton News, 1851-71.
- The Casket (Antigonish), 1852 to the present.
- The Liverpool Transcript, 1854-68?
- The Yarmouth Tribune, 1855-83.
- The Abstainer, 1856-74.
- The Evening Express and Commercial Record, 1858-71.
- The Colonial Standard (Pictou), 1858-1907, (New Glasgow) 1908-14.
- The Halifax Reporter, 1860-7?, the Reporter and Times till the 1880's.
- The Burning Bush, 1861-70?
- The Halifax Citizen, 1862-77.
- The Citizen and Evening Chronicle, 1877-88.
- The Journal of Agriculture, 1865-85.
- The Amherst Gazette, 1866-1909.
- The Acadian (Wolfville), 1866-9. (Revived later.)
- The Star (Berwick, Kentville, and Wolfville), 1866-80.
- The Journal of Education, 1866 to the present.

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its nineteenth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- MAURICE WHITMAN ARMSTRONG, B.A. Dalhousie 1925; M.A. 1927; B.D. Pine Hill 1930; S.T.M. Harvard 1941; Ph.D. 1945. The great awakening in Nova Scotia. *Harvard.*
- The Reverend JOSEPH STANISLAUS BRUSTER. The Fenian invasions of Canada. *St. Louis.*
- G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto.*
- JAMES M. S. CARELESS, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Harvard 1941. George Brown and the *Toronto Globe.* *Harvard.*
- RAYMOND CHOQUETTE, M.A. Ottawa 1944. Les Potagers de guerre des centres urbains du Canada. *Ottawa.*
- O. WARD CLUBINE, A.B. McMaster 1929; B.Pd. Toronto 1939; A.M. 1942; Ph.D. New York 1944. Teacher load in the secondary schools of Ontario. *New York.*
- ROBERT J. DICKSON, M.A. Queen's University Belfast 1943. Emigration from Ulster to America during the eighteenth century. *Queen's University Belfast.*
- JOGUES EGAN, M.A. McGill. Le Canada français et les écrivains français, de 1850 à nos jours. *Laval.*
- LEO FISHMAN, A.B. New York 1937; A.M. 1938. British war-time controls of selected non-ferrous metals, 1939-41. *New York.*
- ESTHER FRUMHARTZ, B.A. Toronto 1937; M.A. 1938. Political aspects of the Canadian tariff, 1867-1911. *Toronto.*
- JOHN S. GALBRAITH. The United States and the British Commonwealth, 1917-1930. *Iowa.*
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe.*
- Mrs. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1936. Canadian public opinion on the Dominion's external relations. *Toronto.*
- E. C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The Canadian and Maritime approach to Confederation: A study in contrasts. *Toronto.*
- LOUIS HALPERN, B.S.S. College of the City of New York 1941; A.M. New York 1942. British war finance, 1939-1944: A comparative analysis. *New York.*
- ALETHA MARGUERITE HERWIG. The farmer and Canadian-American reciprocity, 1911. *Minnesota.*
- HENRY WELDON HEWETSON, B.A. Toronto 1924; M.A. British Columbia 1925. The financial history of the Canadian National Railway. *Chicago.*
- NORAH LOUISE HUGHES, A.B. British Columbia 1932; A.M. 1934; B.D. Union College of British Columbia 1940; Ph.D. University of Chicago 1945. A history of the development of ministerial education in Canada; from its inception until 1925 in

- those churches which were tributary to the United Church of Canada in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. *Chicago*.
- J. T. HUMPHREY, B.Com. McGill 1925; B.A. 1927; B.C.L. 1929. The functions of government in a supranational society. *McGill*.
- W. E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- WILLIAM PAUL LEDET, A.B. Tulane 1936; A.M. 1937. A history of the Acadians. *Chicago*.
- A. D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- CARL H. MAPES. A map interpretation of population growth and distribution in the Puget Sound region. *Washington*.
- SAM MILNER, A.B. Alberta 1936; A.M. 1938. Governmental control of radio broadcasting in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- NEIL FARQUHARSON MORRISON. Essex County, Province of Ontario: A geographical study. *Michigan*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba 1913; M.A. Dalhousie 1914; LL.B. Manitoba 1916; B.D. Manitoba 1917; D.D. (Hon.) Presbyterian College of Montreal 1938. The public career of Sir Charles Bagot. *McGill*.
- JOHN ALFRED NOON. The league of Iroquois on the Grand River: An acculturation study in government and law. *Pennsylvania*.
- LESTER H. PHILLIPS, Ph.D. Michigan 1945. The impact of the Defence of Canada Regulations upon civil liberties. *Michigan*.
- R. I. C. PICARD, B.A. McGill; M.A.; Ph.D. London School of Economics. Canadian banking in wartime. *Ottawa*.
- E. P. RAY, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1933; Ph.D. Toronto 1945. Transition to Responsible Government in Nova Scotia, 1835-1864. *Toronto*.
- ALBERT RIOUX. L'électrification rurale de Québec. *Laval*.
- MARCEL ROUSSON, B.A. Montreal; LL.L.; L.Ss.; M.A. Ottawa. Le Canada, fils héritier de la coutume. *Ottawa*.
- ALICE ROSÉ STEWART, B.A. Maine 1937; A.M. Radcliffe 1938. Imperial policy of Sir John A. Macdonald, first Prime Minister of Canada. *Harvard*.
- FRANCIS C. SUTHERLAND, B.A. McGill 1910; M.A. 1915. History of shipbuilding on Puget Sound. *Washington*.
- LEWIS G. THOMAS, B.A. Alberta 1934; M.A. 1935. Political and economic history of Alberta, 1905-1921. *Harvard*.
- HOWARD ALEXANDER VERNON, B.A. Chicago 1937; M.A. 1940. The French Canadians and the French Revolution. *Chicago*.
- N. McQ. WARD, B.A. McMaster; M.A. Toronto 1943. The development of governmental activity in Nova Scotia. *Toronto*.
- JAMES WKEFORD WATSON. M.A. Edinburgh University 1936. The geography of the Niagara Peninsula. *Toronto*.
- WILLIAM REID WILLOUGHBY. The impact of the United States upon Canada's foreign policy. *Wisconsin*.
- I. WILSON, B.A. British Columbia 1931; M. A. Clark 1932. History of trade unionism in the mass production industries of Canada. *Toronto*.

Theses for the Master's Degree

- ROSS G. BABION, B.A. Queen's 1944; M.A. 1945. Alexander Morris, his place in Canadian history. *Queen's*.
- R. N. BEATTIE, B.A. British Columbia 1939. British investment in British North America, 1857-70. *Toronto*.
- The Reverend BENOÎT, Brother of the Sacred Heart. Un Siècle d'enseignement français en Ontario. *Montréal*.
- D. A. BRISTOW, B.A. Toronto 1940. Agrarian interest in the politics of Ontario. *Toronto*.
- J. F. CAHAN, B.A. Dalhousie; M.A. Toronto 1945. Survey of the political activities of the Ontario labour movement, 1850-1935. *Toronto*.
- G. E. CATHERCOLE, B.A. Toronto; M.A. 1945. The city of Toronto in depression and recovery: A study in public finance. *Toronto*.
- H. A. CLINCH, B.A. Toronto 1943. Quebec nationalism in the eighteen-eighties with reference to the Riel agitation. *McGill*.

- ALEXANDER DUBENSKY, B.A. London 1941; M.A. McGill 1944. Some aspects of labour problems in Canadian post-war industry. *McGill*.
- W. R. DYMOND, B.A. Toronto 1943. The labour-management co-operation movement in Canada. *Toronto*.
- GERTRUDE M. FATT, B.A. Toronto 1935. The Canadian High Commissionership under Galt and Tupper. *Toronto*.
- FRANCES A. FIRTH, B.A. New Brunswick 1943; M.A. 1945. The development of higher education in New Brunswick. *New Brunswick*.
- ELEANOR SCOTT GRAHAM, A.B.Sc. British Columbia 1936; S.M. Chicago 1945. Field practice provided by the Victorian Order of Nurses for graduate nurses in Canadian universities. *Chicago*.
- W. R. GRAHAM, B.A. Manitoba 1942; M.A. Toronto 1945. The Alexander Mackenzie Administration, 1873-78: A study of Liberal tenets and tactics. *Toronto*.
- J. C. S. GRIMSHAW, B.A. Toronto 1940. Unionism in the Canadian Automobile Industry. *Toronto*.
- MARION H. HARRIOT, B.A. Manitoba 1939. Thomas Greenway. *Toronto*.
- R. HELPER, B.A. Toronto 1928; M.A. 1945. The Yukon gold rush: A study in social disorganization. *Toronto*.
- KUNIO HICLAKA, B.A. Columbia 1940. The administration of unemployment assistance. *Queen's*.
- GABRIEL KINGSLEY MBADIWE, B.A. Columbia 1943. British and native legislation in Nigeria. *New York*.
- RÉMI LALONDE, B.A. Ottawa; B.Sc. La Réforme rurale par l'éducation en Ontario. *Ottawa*.
- M. MACDONELL, B.A. St. Francis Xavier 1938; M.A. Toronto 1945. Problems of the administration of Sir John Harvey in New Brunswick. *Toronto*.
- KATHERIN F. C. MACNAUGHTON, B.A. New Brunswick 1941; M.A. 1945. The development of the theory and practice of education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900. *New Brunswick*.
- KIMIARI NAKASHIMA, B.A. Washington 1939. Economic aspect of problems related to the evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific coast. *McGill*.
- R. B. OGLESBY, B.A. McMaster 1936. Imperial defence, 1895-1911. *Toronto*.
- DOROTHY MAE OLSON, A.B. Wisconsin 1943. Canada's foreign policy 1919-1939. *Wisconsin*.
- H. F. QUINN, B.A. Sir George Williams College 1941. A study of political parties in the Province of Quebec. *McGill*.
- MARGARET V. RAY, B.A. Toronto 1922. Sudeten settlement in western Canada. *Toronto*.
- VERNON S. READY, B.A. Queen's 1944. Party politics in Canada, 1939-44. *Queen's*.
- ALLANA G. REID, B.A. McGill 1943. The importance of the town of Quebec in the seventeenth century. *McGill*.
- W. F. RYAN, B.A. New Brunswick 1941. New Brunswick under the Reciprocity Treaty, 1854-66. *Toronto*.
- J. BOLTON SLACK, B.A. Queen's 1944. The external policy of Mr. Mackenzie King. *Queen's*.
- PAMELA E. SMITH, B.A. Toronto 1941. Views of Henri Bourassa. *Toronto*.
- R. B. SPLANE, B.A. McMaster 1940. The Reform party in Upper Canada, 1867-78. *Toronto*.
- I. ANETTE STEWART, B.A. Toronto 1944. Robert and William Dunlop: Huron County's first two members of Parliament. *Toronto*.
- A. P. STINSON, B.A. Toronto 1942. The effect of war upon provincial-federal relations, 1914-18. *Toronto*.
- DORA E. WATTIE, B.A. Toronto 1927. The early history of Cobourg, Ontario. *Toronto*.
- F. WEEKES, B.A. Manitoba. Provincial municipal relations in social service administration in Ontario. *Toronto*.
- C. B. WUEST, B.A. Pennsylvania 1940. Canadian discussion of the imperial conferences, 1921-35. *Toronto*.

REVIEW ARTICLE

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS¹

IN writing this review for 1944, Professor Trotter noticed that "strictly historical items are few . . . writers are chiefly concerned with the present and the future, and therefore tend to look at the past principally as the background of current problems." This is particularly true of the first two books on our list, *The Problem of India* by Palme Dutt, and *India's Problem Can be Solved* by De Witt Mackenzie. Both suffer from the defect that their authors—an English communist and a American journalist respectively—having discovered the war (the one, in June, the other, in December, 1941), would now settle everything by reference to it. One sees everything *sub specie* Stalingrad; the other, *sub specie* Pearl Harbor; and this fact vitiates the work of both. For the problems of India, and the rights and claims of Indians—and of the British in India—are not aspects of the war. They are antecedent to—and independent of—the war, and they cannot be derived from it. The war has complicated the problems of India; it did not create them; and to write as though it had, is to mistake the part for the whole, and the passing for the permanent.

Whatever the other merits of his book, Mr. Dutt sins heavily in this respect. Having discovered the war on the day on which the U.S.S.R. was attacked, he promptly simplified the Indian problem in terms of the "war against Fascism." Either a free India, he writes, will bring enormous resources to the help of the United Nations, or "the refusal of freedom to India . . . will open the road to Fascism's sweeping advance . . . and bring into view the menace of immeasurable catastrophe for India and the world."

Even if we agree thus to subordinate the whole complex of Indian questions to this immediate preoccupation of enabling India to assist the U.S.S.R. (for, given Mr. Dutt's record, that is a fair way in which to state his purpose),² we can still remark: first, that Indians are of two kinds—those who, like the leaders of Eire, are not primarily concerned with what Mr. Dutt calls the "world war against Fascism," and those who are concerned with that war, and who have been getting on with it—very effectively—without waiting for any of Mr. Dutt's pre-conditions and prerequisites; secondly, that when Mr. Dutt says that "the solution of the Indian problem is a vital preliminary necessity to assist in the speedy defeat of Hitler and Japan," he is in error. The job has, in fact, been done, without that "vital preliminary."

But the matter goes deeper than that. Mr. Dutt wants to make India "a powerful bastion of democracy in the Pacific," and he believes that the only means to this end is "the recognition of Indian independence." This reviewer has long wanted to see India independent, but—inasmuch as, at the moment of writing, the last attempt to get Indians to agree on the personnel of a provisional National government has failed—we are entitled to ask Mr. Dutt the questions—how?—and when?—and on these points, he would seem to be both unjust and doctrinaire.

¹This is the sixteenth annual article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article see page 314.

²Mr. Dutt does not help his cause by dragging in his Russian idol. When he insists that, in the present stage of the Nationalist movement, it is essential that India should be free, if she so chooses, to leave the Commonwealth, and in the same breath sets up Russia as an example, we must ask whether he really believes that any of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. would be allowed to leave it? And a denunciation of the censorship in India comes oddly from a devotee of the arch-home of censorship.

He brushes aside the very real difficulties which confront both British and Indians in seeking to find a form of government which will give India *both* freedom and unity, as "old debating points," "magic telescopes" to falsify perspectives, "make-believes with sham constitutions," "the wizard wand of will o' the wisp promises," and "spiteful tales to hoodwink the public." Any body of Indian opinion which does not agree with Congress, he calls "minute splinter organizations without membership"; the Muslim League is "a tiny minority of reactionary upper-class Moslems"; and, need we add, the division between Hindu and Muslim is the artificial creation of a British policy of "divide and rule."

He asserts that "the primary responsibility for promoting communal strife in India" rests with the British, and he makes rather tendentious use of the Simon Report to argue that strife between Hindu and Muslim did not exist in the days before British rule, and would disappear if that rule were withdrawn. On the first point, we may quote Mr. Jinnah, who in appealing to the Hindus to drop their attempt at domination, has repeatedly said that it is that attempt, and not the British, which keeps the two communities apart.⁴ On the second point, we must distinguish between social relations and political relations. As K. M. Pannikar points out, so long as the political issues involved in Indian independence are not raised, Hindus and Muslims "live together as friendly neighbours everywhere." It is "the refusal of the Muslims to be treated as a minority, dependent on the goodwill of a permanent Hindu majority, *when India becomes free*," which is the root of the trouble, and, that being so, it is natural that it should have grown in proportion as India has moved towards self-government. For "a movement to free India from its British rulers was bound . . . to raise the question who were to take those rulers' places," especially since Indians had adopted British notions of democracy. For "crudely interpreted, democracy means the rule of the majority, and Indian Moslems were well aware that they numbered rather less than one-quarter of the Indian people."⁵

The connection between the pace of political advance, and the increase in communal friction, has been only too clear since the Act of 1935. It was the working demonstration—in the Provinces, between 1937 and 1939—of what Congress rule meant, which began the conversion of the Muslims from moderation to intransigence; and it was the assumption by the Congress leaders that, when the British left, Congress would—as Mr. Gandhi put it—"take delivery" (i.e. assume paramount power), and only then consult other parties on the future of India, which completed that conversion. In 1937, Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League seem to have believed that their position in a united India could be safeguarded by the special provisions of the "Communal Award"; by 1940, they had been driven to deny Indian unity, and to adopt that doctrine of "two nations" which finds expression in the claim for a separate Pakistan.⁶

⁴Congress leaders may reflect on the future implications of his analysis of their movement as "bourgeois," and Indian liberals and reformers may ponder his savage scorn of Gandhi (pp. 120-1)—"the ascetic defender of property"—the Indian Macdonald on whom "all the hopes of the bourgeoisie were fixed" in the business of unleashing "just enough of the mass movement to drive a good bargain, and at the same time to save India from revolution."

⁵"I ask you how you can keep on saying that it is the British who keep us apart. . . . Why shouldn't the country unite and drive the British out?" *Times of India*. April 26, 1943.

⁶R. Coupland, *The Future of India*. Pt. III (London and Toronto, 1943).

⁷See Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, "Pakistan: A Plan for India" (*The Fortnightly*, March, 1945). See also, Coupland, *Future of India*, Pt. III, ch. II.

To emphasize these points is not, as Mr. Dutt believes, to invent reasons for the British to stay in India. It is to ask him to face the facts in the matter of how, and when, they are to leave. One may agree with Mr. Dutt that there have been some Britons who have welcomed the fact that India is divided because that has helped them to rule her; but the iron and ineluctable facts remain that India is divided; that the British did not create the division; and that the division grows more embittered in proportion as the British make it clear that they intend to go, and so to leave the mutually suspicious communities in naked confrontation.

This being so, we are entitled to ask what Mr. Dutt proposes? For, as Professor Hancock has observed, the successful working of democracy by majority rule "depends upon an inarticulate major premise . . . the use of majority decision to register agreement in all particulars is possible only in those communities which already possess agreement upon essentials." In India, agreement upon essentials is lacking, and, in 1945, Lord Wavell might well say, with Cromwell—"I am as much for government by consent as any man, but where are we to find that consent?" The real question, therefore, is: *should the British government—and can the British government—transfer full power to an Indian government whose authority is denied by a powerful section of Indian opinion?*

Mr. Dutt gives no direct answer to this question, but Mr. Mackenzie (pp. 158-63) reports prominent Hindu leaders as urging that Britain "should use strong-arm methods and force a settlement along these lines." On such a proposal, two comments may be made: first, that to undertake to force Hindu rule on the Muslims (which is what this plan, in effect, proposes), in the midst of war with Japan, hardly seems consistent with the avowed aim of making India a united and contented base for the operations of the United Nations. Secondly, and more fundamental, with this proposal, the whole attempt to discuss India in terms of Western, national, liberal democracy, goes overboard. If "self government" for India means that Imperial arms are to coerce one great Indian community into forced subjection to the other, we have evidently undergone a revolution in the meaning of words.

We reach again the perennial problem which lurks in "self-determination"—to what units is it to be applied? Self-determination for India as against Britain?—for Muslims as against Hindus? Can the one—ideally—be right, and yet the other wrong? The reviewer is well aware that political decisions are not, in fact, made on grounds of pure principle, but the point is that critics such as Mr. Dutt take their stand on principle so long as it can be used as a stick with which to beat the British. Once they begin to accept practical, and even cynical, compositions with awkward facts—once they begin to play favourites and deny the application of their own principle where it would not work in their own direction—they have come down from the pulpit to those thorny paths of ways and means along which we all must stumble; to those choices, not between good and bad, but between fair and better, of which the British dilemma in India is but one.

Our justification for spending so much space on India is that her problem is repeated elsewhere. Wherever, in the famous phrase, "two nations [are] warring in the bosom of a single state," there are three possible solutions of the problem. The two nations may be held within the unity of the single state by the pressure of an external power—as has been the case with India, and was the case with Ireland; or the single state may be partitioned—as is now the case with Ireland and as (if the Muslim League has its way) will be the case with India; or—as in Canada—the two nations may be held within the formal unity of a single state, at the cost (at best) of limiting the choice of policies which are open to the state, and

exhausting its initiative, or (at worst) of poisoning the springs of national political health. Honest men may differ as to which solution is best in particular times and places, but it is difficult to be patient with those who, in effect, deny that there is any problem to be solved.⁷

It is because Mr. Mackenzie does at least realize that there is a Muslim-Hindu issue,⁸ that his book—in spite of irritating demerits—is better than Mr. Dutt's. The demerits are those of the American journalist condescending to the Old World; the merits of the book are those of an honest interviewer.

We have said that he sees India *sub specie belli* and he assures us that when he landed in India, he had no intention of writing about it. "It looked like a continuation of the old family quarrel, and my feeling was that . . . it wouldn't call for any special journalistic attention." Then, however, as his publisher puts it, he discovered that "India is the arsenal of the Middle East and a base from which to attack Japan. . . . In view of India's strategic importance, *Mr. Mackenzie feels that the problem should be solved at once*" (my italics). Obviously, as he himself writes, "there was no end to the possibilities of a visit to India." There was not, indeed.

But we should be wrong to assume, *a priori*, that a book written in such a temper is without value. The author can never quite shed his air of the American schoolmaster cross-examining the British on their record in India, and uncertain whether to give them a "beta minus" or a "gamma plus"; he makes some jejune judgments upon individuals (e.g. on Cripps and on Jinnah); and he can be naively self-important;⁹ but he is not blind to the forces which are marshalling in India. He came, he saw, and he interviewed. He reports that the certainty that Britain was going to lose the war had much to do with the action of the Congress leaders in rejecting the Cripps proposals, and, equally, that, by 1943, the improved British military position had much to do with the same leaders' feeling that that rejection had perhaps been too hasty. He sets down conversations with Gandhi which suggest how equivocal was the Mahatma's position on the question of resistance to Japan; and conversations with Dr. Mookerjee which suggest that the Mahasabha's attitude towards Muslim rights is equally equivocal. His appendices give useful texts.

The publishers say that Mr. K. M. Pannikar, author of *The Future of South East Asia*, has been described "by high authority as possessing one of the acutest and most stimulating minds in India." If one may judge by this book, the praise is deserved. His theme is that the south-east Asiatic possessions of the Colonial Powers cannot be defended in, or by, themselves. They cannot be defended by their own resources because they are not industrialized; and the Colonial Powers

⁷It is interesting to note that while the charge is still made that the British divide India, Mr. Jinnah makes precisely the reverse charge—that the British wish to preserve the formal unity of India, in order to take advantage of the *real* disunity which formal unity must provoke!

⁸Mr. Jinnah told him—"The Moslems and Hindus are two different nations. They have nothing in common. . . . In attempting to establish a national government under such conditions the British are trying to grow a peach tree on the sands of the Jumna. A parliament with a Hindu majority is impossible. It is a menace to Islam."

⁹"There was only one way to find out just where Jinnah stood, and I took it. I flew 800 miles from Delhi to Bombay for the sole purpose of seeing the great man. I was with him parts of two days, and I believe it was time well spent." He can apostrophize Gandhi thus—"What do you think about it, Gandhiji (sic)? You're a great self-analyst and you're an honest thinker. Wouldn't it be a good thing to check up on all the aspects of your non-violence principle. . . . Your own conscience must give you guidance on that point."

cannot treat the defence of them as an isolated matter, because none of those Powers can reach south-east Asia save by a series of strategic stepping-stones, and if any link in the chain should be broken, effective action in the area would be paralysed. When Pearl Harbor was followed by the Jap occupation of Guam and Wake Island, the Americans could not act in south-east Asia; and the Japanese, themselves, had only arrived there *via* the conquest of Formosa and Hainan.

Mr. Pannikar believes that the one sure base from which the United Nations can act effectively in south-east Asia is India; and he argues that the fact that the power which controls India can at all times control the East Indies, is attested by the whole history of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British Empires. But how to make a divided and troubled India into an effective base for this purpose? In a passage to which Canadians will pay attention, he argues that any Indian federation which leaves the provinces sufficient power to satisfy the Muslims that they can safely enter it, will be a federation so weak at the centre that any strong and consistent policies will be impossible to it. Create a federation in which the central government will be strong enough to undertake effective national defence, and planned economic development, and the Muslims will have none of it. Create a federation which will give the provinces sufficient independence to allay Muslim fears of Hindu dominance at the centre, and it "can only be one with very attenuated powers . . . with all powers vested in the periphery and little but name in the centre."

What is the way out? Mr. Pannikar would set up *two* independent Indian states—Hindustan and Pakistan—which would then work out a system of joint defence and foreign policy in collaboration with Britain, "as independent countries with permanent common interests [he cites the United States-Canadian example] often have to do."

Further he would bring Burma into the plan. This is made necessary by the sharp intrusion of strategic considerations in the last five years. The Jap blockade of her Pacific coastline has turned China's eyes to her south-west, and Indians have learned that the Power which holds Rangoon can control the Bay of Bengal. On the other hand, Mr. Pannikar accepts the wisdom of the separation of Burma from India in 1937. "Burma is a separate nation . . . her religion, social structure, race, language, in fact everything which counts in the life of a nation, are different from those of India." Here again, therefore, he advocates a union with Pakistan and Hindustan for defence and economic purposes—"a union based on the equality of the three states . . . a Triune Commonwealth—a reconstituted Indian Empire, on the basis of the freedom of the three areas."

For the old Indian Empire, as a common defence area, had much in its favour. With Aden as its outpost; with the Persian Gulf within the orbit of Indian policy; with a neutralized Tibet and a British-held Burma; India was safe. Today, this young Indian looks at a Russia relieved of the German and Japanese dangers, and at a militarized China, and knows that India is much less safe; and while, he writes, "a Curzonian conception of a greater Moghul Empire in Delhi is no longer a possibility . . . what is possible is that on a basis of equality and freedom Pakistan, Hindustan and Burma should be united as a single defence area, held together and strengthened by co-operation with Britain to form a great structure for peace and security in Asia."

This plan for two independent Indias should be read carefully and compared with the discussion of the Pakistan plan in Professor Coupland's *The Future of*

India.¹⁰ But Mr. Pannikar does not dodge difficulties. He faces the need which the Triune Commonwealth would have for continued British military and naval support, and for British—or other foreign—capital. He faces the fact that while India is a "victim" of British imperialism, she herself stands in an "imperialist" relationship to Burma, in the sense that, under British rule, Indian capital has come to dominate Burma, and that the Burmese have had to suffer large scale Indian immigration. In fact he everywhere faces the fact that an imperial peace frames a beatitude for the commercially-minded peoples, and a servitude for the agrarians; so that, under the shelter of the British peace, the Chinese have made an economic empire in British south-east Asia, and the Indians in British East Africa.

Finally, this refreshingly candid mind is more alive to what Englishmen are thinking than are many who should be—but are not—better informed than he. The North American illusion that Britain can be perpetually denounced for imperialism, and progressively stripped of her empire, but that she can nevertheless be always called upon to carry the world responsibilities of an imperial people, is not shared by this young Asiatic. He realizes the force, in a Britain over-strained and resentful, of the query—"What do we get out of it?" and he puts his finger on the crux of the great debate which is going on in Britain—"Shall we continue the attempt to be effective everywhere?—or is there a future for us only as a Euro-African Power?"

Mr. Pannikar is ahead of anyone writing in North America in realizing that this—and not the questions of Commonwealth organization—is the crux (such questions being only important in so far as the way in which they are answered will affect the British decision—for abdication, or no); and his appeal to Britain not to withdraw into Africa must be quoted:

What is the position of Britain in the future of South-East Asia? There is a general tendency to consider that with India independent, Britain's position in the East is lost; to argue that British commitments in the East arise from her position in India, and that following her withdrawal from India and the liquidation of her interests there, Britain has no further interest to safeguard and can safely and with full security concentrate on other areas.

The true position of Britain, if associated with India and South-East Asia on a free and equal basis, will be that of the acknowledged leader of a world community, in which her ideals of government, her ethics of public life, and generally her way of civilization will dominate. Her role will be not merely that of an associate in material advancement, through technical knowledge, financial investment, and exchange of goods, but that of a leader in civilization, not essentially European so far as Asia is concerned, but composite in character and introducing into Asiatic society, the principles of purposeful organization and activity, the conception of society itself as a complex of the forces of progress, the practice of political life based on democracy, motivated by the ideal of a common good, and the reign of law, and the subordination of the individual to the law.

The Africa into which Mr. Pannikar fears that Britain may withdraw, is the subject of a group of books which, taken singly or together, show both the acceptance by Britain of the *positive* responsibilities which go with "trusteeship," and also the difficulties which beset the guardian of so many, and so varied, colonial wards.

In *Welfare in the British Colonies*, Dr. L. P. Mair sets out, in terse and factual style, and with power of succinct summary, the recent developments in the fields of education, health, labour, and social welfare. It is a record of high effort. It is also a record of the fact that men do not always like what is done for them by

¹⁰Pt. III, Chs. VII and IX analyse the forces making for Pakistan, and discuss its economic and military "viability."

the most single-minded and disinterested reformers. For example, modern British policy has tried to save Africans from the fate of a proletariat—has tried to keep them on the land—on their own land. It has also tried to give them, not merely an education, but an education fitted to their agrarian needs. But in rural Africa, apparently, as on the Canadian prairie, it is difficult to give the farming population an education, and yet “keep them down on the farm.” The African does not see why his son should go to school to learn better farming. The whole point of going to school is to acquire the white man’s learning, and so escape from the farm. Or again, experts agree that the best medium of education is the language which the pupil knows best when he enters school; and the African Services have tried hard to provide tuition and text-books in the African vernaculars. But the native does not want them. The desire to learn English—the language of the ruling race—is the main, if not the only, incentive of African parents in sending their children to school, and “it was widely believed that any deviation from the type of education given in English schools must be for the worse, and might even be designed to keep the colonial peoples in an inferior position.”

It will be seen that this is not a book for the doctrinaires who would set all communities “free,” without considering how the freedom is to be made real in the modern world. How to set Malaya free, when Chinese and Indian immigration has reduced the Malay to 43 per cent of the population of his own country?—or to set Fiji free, when here again “the indigenous inhabitants risk coming under the economic domination of a more sophisticated immigrant group”—in this case, the Indians, who in 1939 were 44 per cent of the population? And of what avail are formulas in the problem of negro labour in Africa—a problem which is not one of imperialism, but of something of which imperialism, as such, is only the vehicle—a problem which Europe had to meet earlier—the impact of modern large scale industry on custom-bound, subsistence agriculture?

The high level of Dr. Mair’s book is maintained by Dr. Leubuscher in her *Tanganyika Territory*. She is concerned with the current proposals to set up “Regional Advisory Commissions on which all the Powers interested in a given colonial area would be represented.” These proposals are expected to combine the advantages of the government of a colony by a single Power, with the advantages of international collaboration, but Dr. Leubuscher feels that, whatever the merits of these plans, they show “surprisingly little inclination to build on the foundations of international supervision which were laid more than twenty years ago in the form of the Mandates System, or even to take cognizance of the lessons which may be drawn from this first experiment in international supervision of colonial administration.” An examination of the achievements—and shortcomings—of the mandates system, she feels, should provide some guidance for future policy, and her book is meant as a contribution towards that end. She concentrates on economic and financial policy under mandate, partly because of its crucial importance, partly because of the comparative neglect with which it has been visited; and she selects Tanganyika—a B mandate—because the B mandates embody the chief features of the system. They concern territories whose populations will for a long time to come need help and guidance (whereas the peoples under A mandate are more advanced, and have either achieved independence, or may look forward to it in the near future); and the B mandates secure full economic equality to all states members of the League of Nations (a provision which is absent from the C mandates).

Dr. Leubuscher is thorough in enquiry, precise in information, and cautious

in conclusion. The criteria by which an administration which claims to be guardian to backward peoples, may be judged are, she suggests,

a land policy which safeguards the present and future needs of native society; a policy of agricultural development calculated to promote the economy of the territory for its own sake instead of concentrating on crops "complementary" to the production of the mother country; a labour policy which leaves the native genuinely free to choose between cultivating his own land or working for a non-African employer; a policy, moreover, which does not allow any obstacle to be placed in the way of the native who is capable of performing skilled work, and which gives scope to the more advanced and educated members of native communities.

These are searching criteria, and, though she criticizes particular conditions and policies, she finds that "in fundamental issues, the Administration of Tanganyika has fulfilled the main requirements of native trusteeship."

Dr. Nadel's *Black Byzantium* is an exhaustive treatise, by a leading anthropologist, on one of the most important communities in Nigeria. The layman may feel that the results belong rather to sociology than to anthropology, since what Dr. Nadel has studied are "in the first place . . . the factors of social cohesion upon which the claim of a community to rank as a unit of self-government is based, and, in the second place, the effect of changes brought about, *inter alia*, by contact with Europeans and especially by the British Administration." This is pioneer work of remarkable comprehensiveness, and it is good to be assured by Lord Lugard, in a foreword, that its results are already being used on the spot.

The work of colonial development and welfare which is described by Drs. Mair, Leubuscher, and Nadel, is so important, that we may be in danger of forgetting that the future of the colonies is ultimately a question of politics. Professor Walker reminds us that

this fact must be emphasised because imperial reformers tend nowadays to salaam perfunctorily before the throne of self-government and then hurry off to the day's work of furthering colonial development and welfare. This tendency to shelve the political side of the problem is part of the general reaction against all that the nineteenth century stood for. It will not do. Doubtless the Western democracies of that great age, and the British above all, expected too much of politics divorced from economics; but they are not all fools who contend for forms of government to-day. Economic planners, and moralists also, defeat their own ends if they pass over too lightly such matters as the part to be played by power in international affairs, the relations of legislatures to executives, or the connection between votes and the morale of electors and the morals of elected persons, between votes and the preservation of civil rights, votes and deliverance from the monstrous regiment of experts, even between votes and bread.

Professor Walker's own book—*Colonies*—steers a sane course between the idea that good works justify us in postponing freedom, and the idea that freedom will automatically involve good works. This little book is wholly admirable; a book to encourage the doubting and restrain the impatient. Its aim is to consider the current sweeping condemnation of colonial empires, and to assess the position and possibilities of colonies, in a world in which changes in weapons and transport have revolutionized the relations between large and small countries, and in which older conceptions of sovereignty, independence, and neutrality, have to reckon with the fact that only a handful of very Great Powers can now pretend to genuine independence.

In a swift and authoritative chapter, he sets the growth and decline of empires in historical perspective—a useful reminder when we consider how we pass judgment on the administrations of poverty-stricken colonies, while forgetting how recent are modern social services in prosperous Britain, and how still more recent in the supremely wealthy United States. He summarizes the motives of colonization,

describes recent colonial policies, and examines colonial constitutions, and colonial development, in the empires of the six chief colonial Powers. His condensation of the difficulties, differences, and possible ways of advance, in each case, might be made the text for many major works.

Professor Walker has a winning way with facts (see his reminder that the total British Colonial empire is administered by 250,000 government employees, high and low, of whom only 6,000 are British); he has a sense of fairness (as in his remark that, if the British Empire is the most criticized, it is the only one which washes its linen in public, and accompanies its work with a running commentary in the most widely-understood language in the world); he refuses to be intimidated (as when he remarks that denunciation of the restrictive Ottawa policies came largely from nations who have always followed highly restrictive policies themselves); and he has a power of striking condensation (as when he says that, in this war, Africa has resumed her pre-Suez role of an obstacle between the West and Asia).

In his view of the future, he steers between those who would hand colonies about as though this were still 1815, and those who see all colonial problems as a standardized revolt of standardized "natives" against a standardized oppression. He considers the probable consequences of setting up a number of small new states in the tropics, at the moment when many old-established independent states have become independent only in name.¹¹ He discusses the disadvantages—from the point of view of the colonial peoples—of international rule (there is quiet humour in his description of the few attempts of the Powers to apply such rule to themselves); and he prefers international supervision, but—again, for the sake of the governed—with a sharp distinction between supervisory duties and controlling power. It is difficult to over-praise this wise and good book.

"The root of almost all the difficulties of the colonies," says H. W. Foster, in *Empire and Ourselves*, is poverty." The obstacles to the growth of the wealth of colonial territories are of two kinds—those which are natural—which spring from the defects of soil and climate in colonial areas, from native ignorance, and lack of capital, and from social customs which originated in poverty and which make for its perpetuation—and those which arise from the systems of government, and the financial methods, of the governing colonial Powers. Mr. Foster examines both these questions, and his examination will repay attention.

Mr. Dutt, of course, fulminates against the poverty of the colonial empire, and particularly of India, and is sure that it is due to imperialism. But the true sins of British imperialism are not those of commission, but those of omission.¹² The English went out in search of trade and collected an empire; but they have never had an imperial idea. Scotsmen (Rosebery), Jews (Disraeli), radicals turned jingo and impressed by mere size (Joseph Chamberlain, Rhodes, Lloyd George), and the cosmopolitans of colonialism (Kipling), have tried to furnish them with one, but the English people, and the heirs of the English governing tradition, are not imperially-minded. Both Mr. Foster and Mr. Derek Tangye realize this, and both realize the limitations which it places upon colonial development. In his *One King*, Mr. Tangye has emphatic pages on the English public's ignorance of,

¹¹Compare, as Mr. Walker does, the situation of "free" Liberia *vis-à-vis* the Firestone Tire Company, with that of the "unfree" British West African colonies *vis-à-vis* the Leverhulme palm oil interests.

¹²In this, as in so much else, Chesterton went to the heart of the matter—"The English are reviled for their imperialism because they are not imperialistic. They dislike it, which is the real reason why they do it badly; and they do it badly, which is the real reason why they are disliked when they do it."

and indifference to, the Empire, and Mr. Foster makes it clear that this is the root reason for the defects of imperial policy. No devices for international control could do as much to guide and stimulate colonial administrations as would the existence of—what emphatically does not exist at present—an informed and interested public opinion at home. This sin of indifference is naturally offensive to those who, like Mr. Dutt, would wish to see government do everything, but it is not the sin with which he charges us.

It is fitting to end this review with Mr. Bean's final volume—presented to the REVIEW by the Australian War Memorial, Canberra—of the official history of Australia in the First German War. Previous volumes had won the highest praise from distinguished soldiers. This volume begins on the morrow of the German offensive of March-April 1918, and continues through the period of "aggressive defence" (May-June) to Foch's counter-strokes of July 18 and August 8; through the August advances of the Fourth Army (of which, until mid-August, the Canadians formed part), to the September-October attack on the Hindenburg line. The Australian part in all this; the appointment of General Monash to command the Australian Corps; and the experiment in Australian-American co-operation in the Battle of the Hindenburg Line are described clearly and vividly; and the volume closes with a modest and feeling estimate of the effect of the war on Australia, her troops, her leaders, and her people. To the reviewer, it recalled the concluding passage in the declaration of the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers of May, 1944: "We rejoice in our inheritance of loyalties and ideals, and proclaim our kinship to one another. Our system of free association has enabled us, each and all, to claim a full share of the common burden. Although spread across the globe, we have stood together through the stresses of two world wars, and have been welded the stronger thereby."

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

A History of American Life. Edited by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER and DIXON RYAN FOX. 12 volumes. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1928-44.

The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830. By JOHN ALLEN KROUT and DIXON RYAN FOX. (Volume V of *History of American Life*.) 1944. Pp. xxv, 487. (\$4.00)

THE first four volumes of the twelve-volume *History of American Life* appeared in 1928, and now the series has been completed with volume V by Professor John Allen Krout and the late President Dixon Ryan Fox, one of the editors. It is a notable production of American scholarship, providing a synthesis of all the material that research students have been gathering in recent years and a summing up of what seems to them most significant in the development of American civilization. The successive volumes right up to this last one have maintained a remarkably high standard in a very difficult kind of history writing.

The work may be taken as the supreme example in its field of what used to be called the New History. The plan of the editors was not to give a political history but an analysis for each successive generation of the social, economic, and intellectual background out of which the events of the political history came. Each volume, by amassing a comprehensive collection of details about all aspects of the life of the time, tries to give the reader an imaginative understanding of what American life was like in that period. The danger of works of this kind is that they may become mere compilations of miscellaneous unrelated information; and the author who overcomes this danger must be not merely an industrious scientific historian but a good deal of an artist as well. He must be able to make the mass of details contribute to a pattern. And it is just this artistic skill of the dozen authors which has made the series so successful.

The theme of the Krout-Fox volume is the completion of independence and the growth of a national spirit in the generation after the American Revolution. "During the early decades of its existence the United States of America was a highly dubious experiment." With a wealth of illustrative material the authors show how the new nation, having won its war of independence and drawn up its constitution, proceeded by efforts partly unconscious and partly deliberate to achieve a cultural independence. "Americans, unshackle your minds, and act like independent beings. . . . You have now an interest of your own to augment and defend; you have an empire to raise and support by your exertions, and a national character to establish and extend by your wisdom and virtues." So preached Noah Webster, as quoted by the authors on the first page of this volume. And they go on to exhibit Webster's contemporaries in the work of carrying out his exhortations. They devote a great deal of attention to the struggle between liberal thought, influenced by English deism and French rationalism, and the evangelistic religious reaction of the Great Revival which had its repercussions in so many directions. They show how in such fields as architecture, literature, and education the beginnings were made of what we in later generations can recognize as a typical American product. They are at pains to emphasize the weakness and immaturity of many of these beginnings. Educational performance, they point out, lagged far behind theory; scientists of the period were undistinguished, law schools and medical schools were elementary. But in the end a quickening of the nation could be observed everywhere. And the

volume concludes with a picture of the young Lincoln just coming of age. "He was more sensitive than Jackson to the moods of the West and more catholic than Benton in his intellectual interests. In his thinking, there was something of Calhoun's early concern for the preservation of the nation's unity, of Webster's conception of the nature of the federal government, of Clay's enthusiasm for the balanced economy of the American system."

A Canadian reader of these volumes cannot but be impressed by the wide conception of the function of the historian which they represent. In 1930, just two years after the *History of American Life* was started, there appeared the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, volume VI, on Canada, the authoritative production of Canadian historical scholarship of its day. No contrast could be more striking than that between the ways in which the two sets of historians tackle their problem. The Cambridge history is still chiefly concerned with history as the biography of the state. There are some chapters, good ones, on economic history; and there is a chapter on the pioneering spirit in our Canadian past. But apart from a few sketchy outlines of social background the other authors concentrate mainly on what was happening in governmental circles. As the reader plods through the methodical narrative of the doings of governors and their advisers and their critics, he never gets the sense that at one point he is reading about men living in an eighteenth-century civilization, at another about mid-Victorians, and at another about men who move and act like citizens of the twentieth century. He isn't given an understanding of how politics emerge from the social milieu. At the end he has a pretty good idea of Canada as a political entity developing within a larger political entity, the Empire. But he seldom gets any taste of the flavour of Canadian civilization; the editors and authors never seem to have paused in their political narrative to ask themselves what Canadian civilization really amounts to. What is lacking in the Canadian volume is just what the American series sets out to supply about the United States. The American historians as a group seem to be much more closely integrated into the life of their community than are ours.

One reason for the restricted scope of the Canadian volume as contrasted with the American ones is revealed in their bibliographies. To a Canadian student perhaps the most impressive feature in every one of these American volumes is the "Critical Essay on Authorities" which comes at the end. Krout and Fox have thirty-four closely packed pages of this bibliographical material. And a mere enumeration of their sectional headings will go to show what an enormously rich body of previous research is available to the modern American historian. The bibliography begins, as in all twelve of the volumes, with an account of the Physical Survivals of the period—buildings, public and private; furniture; museum collections, etc. It goes on to Documentary Sources, General Accounts, Periodicals, Travel Accounts, The Geographic Base, State and Local Histories, Personal Material, Agriculture and Country Life, The Merchant and Commercial Activity, Transportation and Communication, Industry and Labor, Immigration, The Professions, Religious Trends (General, Liberal Religion, Religion of the Frontier, The Protestant Counter-Reformation, Missionary Enterprise), Philanthropy and Reform, Education, Science, Thought and Culture, The Arts (Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, The Theatre, Music), Society and Leisure, The New West.

It would be an interesting exercise for a Canadian professor, teaching historiography and bibliography to some graduate class, to set them to making bibliographies of this kind for twelve periods in Canadian history corresponding to the

periods of these twelve volumes, and to see how our Canadian material would compare in mass and variety of content with what is printed here. One knows, of course, in advance that the contrast would be overwhelming.

What emerges most strikingly from these volumes is the impression of the marvellous richness of the civilization of our American neighbours, of their inexhaustible vitality in almost every aspect of social and individual life, of the complexity of content which they have given to their famous phrase about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. One feels more than ever how seriously we impoverish ourselves intellectually and culturally in Canada by our failure to study American life more thoroughly, and how greatly our Canadian historical work would be enriched if we sought inspiration more continuously from the work which is being done by our colleagues south of the border.

There is one service, however, which this *History of American Life* does not perform. Among the quotations from contemporaries which are printed at the beginning of each volume there is one in volume XII (1914-28) which seems to have much more relevance today in 1945 than it did when the words were penned in 1929. A contemporary historian is quoted as saying: "The United States has evolved from a country of political experiment, a debtor to Europe, a radical disturber of established government, the hope of the oppressed and an inspiration to all men everywhere who wished to be free, into a wealthy and conservative country, the world's banker and stabilizer, the most powerful enemy to change and revolution." This is certainly true, but one can read through all these twelve volumes without understanding how it is that this American people, so filled with energy and so devoted to experiment, have now become the centre of the Old World. The frontier has come to an end in a deeper sense than was reported by the census enumerators of 1890. A new frontier of a different kind is developing in Europe and Asia; the New World is now across the Atlantic and the Pacific. We already need an extra volume to this *History of American Life* to explain what has happened to the American people since they went on the Great Crusade that is dealt with in volume XII.

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La Civilisation de la Nouvelle France (1733-1744). By GUY FRÉGULT. Montréal: Société des Editions Pascal. 1944. Pp. 285.

It must be admitted that the title of this book is disconcerting: without violating the sense of the words, neither history nor logic permits speaking of a civilization of New France. Astonishment grows on reading the table of contents, which deals with neither ideas, customs, nor arts—the essence of all civilization.

In fact, Mr. Frégault's book consists simply of a description, in chronological order, of the condition of the Laurentian Colony during the period of peace between the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and the War of the Austrian Succession, in 1744. In several aspects, inspired by the same nationalistic *leit-motiv*, he falls in line with and draws inspiration from two books of the same type: *La Naissance d'une race* by Abbé Groulx and *La Naissance d'une nation* by Gérard Filteau. Covering a shorter period and going less deeply into the subject than its predecessors, Mr. Frégault's book carries the stamp of a personal work and indicates an abundant documentation. In general, the author consulted the essential documents and

printed works, but it is quite evident that he wanted to work too fast: his text is presented like a series of too brief notations put end to end, which does not offer a true picture of the general situation.

With a short introduction, *La Civilisation de la Nouvelle France* is composed of five chapters. The first gives the military situation of the colony, cut off from Hudson's Bay and Acadia and threatened by the economic expansion of the American Colonies. The second chapter studies the economic structure of the country: fur trade, agriculture, finance, immigration, commerce, and production. The third reviews the political system, which governed the colony under the standard of absolutism, and the fourth explores the organization and functioning of the seigniorial régime. Finally, a last chapter enumerates and comments on what the author calls the spiritual forces of the colony: the clergy, the parish, the missions, and education. A "Conclusion" follows, describing the formation of a Canadian nationality, distinct from the French one.

This recapitulation of the subject material shows the interest and scope of the historical field which Mr. Frégault has assigned himself. This field it may be said he at least explored, if not completely covered. However, he skimmed over rather than delved deeply into the various parts of his subject. For after all, deducting the bibliography, the index, and the copious foot-notes, the volume does not contain two hundred pages of text in large type. But the real flaws revealed in a criticism of the book are a certain inexperience in handling documents, and inadequacy of synthesis. The author too easily accepts the opinions of his authorities: neither the name of the signatory nor the nature of the document warrants giving it an indubitable value. A reading of the volume also gives the impression that the author writes under the influence of an historical thesis or a doctrinal mysticism, with the result that his conclusions, characterized by literary style and flowery phrases, do not always conform to the historical facts. The book, however, has real merits of work, research, and style. It will probably be received favourably by the general public, but will arouse many doubts among specialists.

It would be tedious to set forth in this review all the inaccuracies that appear here and there. The period from 1713-44 was not an "armed peace" nor was La Vérendrye's exploration an "epic." It is incorrect to represent the colony as a land of famine and chronic poverty; the militia did not constitute the main defence of the colony; the country did not possess a "magnificent chain of roads"; it is necessary to distinguish between "la corvée seigneuriale," always conditional and "la corvée royale," always obligatory; the 1739 census refutes the assertion that there were numerous schools in the country; it is wrong to say that no Canadian "bourgeoisie" existed. It could also be said that the author confused advocates with practitioners; that he was ignorant of the role of the syndic; that he could not separate the respective jurisdictions of the governor and the intendant. He does not indicate the policy of the Iroquois in the Anglo-French quarrel, nor does he mention the absenteeism of the bishops and the quarrels of the clergy during that period. It is surprising to see Mr. Frégault accepting as gospel truth the opinion of Mr. Burton Le Doux, who, ignorant of Canadian history, saw in New France a continuation of the Middle Ages, and that of Mr. de Bonnault, author of fanciful commentaries on Canadian society. Finally, it is curious to see that the author denies the presence of distinguished personages, after 1713, in a colony that knew Governor Beauharnois, Intendants Raudot and Hocquart, Attorney-General Verrier, Lieutenant-General Nicolas Boucault, the enterprising Abbé Lepage, Sieur de Louvigny, Mother Marie Andrée Duplessis, and Madame d'Youville, to mention but the best known.

As to the bibliography, in which many completely needless titles are piled up, it can be pointed out that Mr. Frégault does not mention, among others, *Les Lettres, les sciences et les arts au Canada français* by Antoine Roy, nor *l'Histoire des Canadiens-Français* by Benjamin Sulte, nor *Fonctionnaires maritimes et coloniaux sous Louis XIV: les Bégon* by Yvonne Bézard, nor *Zones of International Friction* by Gipson. Then, he attributes to C. W. Jefferys, the illustrator, Robinson's book: *Toronto During the French Regime*. Still more surprising, La Pause and Bougainville, the most informative authorities, have not been consulted.

However, Mr. Frégault should be congratulated on his publication. It brings us an interesting piece of work from a young writer devoted to serious research, from whom may be expected further contributions useful to our knowledge of the past.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Ottawa.

Sir George Simpson: Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. A Pen Picture of a Man of Action. By ARTHUR S. MORTON. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1944. Pp. xii, 310. (\$4.50)

THE death of the late Professor Arthur S. Morton was a heavy loss to historical scholarship in Canada, but particularly so to Western Canadian history. No one worked this field with more devotion, and none to better purpose. The posthumous appearance of this volume makes public the latest addition to a notable list of books and papers on the history of the West up to and including the great transformation from the fur economy to the era of settlement. It is not the least of Professor Morton's contributions.

Yet, to pass from the role of eulogist to the less congenial one of critic, neither is it the greatest. It lacks the patient building of massed detail into significant outline of *The History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, the accumulated information of *The History of Prairie Settlement*. It does so in part because it is a biography of a figure whose life was co-mingled with the events so exhaustively treated in *The History of the Canadian West*, in part because of the character of its subject.

It was with considerable anticipation that one took up a new life of Simpson. Not only is Canadian history still poor in good biographical studies; not only are there many personalities which call for treatment or re-treatment, including that historian's bow of Ulysses, the great Sir John himself; it was also that Chester Martin had dropped this sentence in the introduction to the *Athabaska Journal*: "Sir George Simpson is perhaps the greatest figure yet to be essayed in Canadian biography." Yet one laid down this book disappointed.

The reason is not far to seek. Bryce in the "Makers of Canada" had given the public the legendary Simpson of Red River memory. The Simpson "imperious on the route . . . 'furious as Jehu' in his driving" had captured the imagination, and one expected to find in a later treatment a man not only of great and masterful capacity but of colourful and compelling personality. Simpson does not so emerge from Professor Morton's pages.

He does not, because Morton finds the key to his career in the fact that he was first, last, and always the servant of the Company. "There was something of the spirit and the devotion of the Jesuit in the man. The Jesuit believed in implicit obedience to his superiors and had for his motto *Pro Gloria Dei*, For the Glory of

God. Substitute 'The Company' for 'God' and you have Simpson's compelling motive." This point recurs frequently; of Simpson's devotion to the Company to the point of presumably unconscious idolatry, and modified only by great practical kindness to subordinates, the reader is left in no doubt. But the consequence is that the man's personality, the biographer's prime concern, is merged—it would be too much to say that it is lost—in the business of the Company and the events of the times.

Hence the book is disappointing, not in style or production, but in the presentation of its subject. The style is what one would expect of Professor Morton; the publishers have done a plain, straightforward job; proof-reading and index are excellent, and the illustrations and outline maps rather better than adequate. It is simply that the legendary Simpson of Bryce has been deflated, no doubt in itself a commendable achievement.

But is this to be the last word on Simpson? It is difficult to think so. Whatever remains to be learned about the man himself, the issues he lived with and dealt with were great enough to keep his name significant in Canadian history. For, as Professor Morton makes clear, the ultimate outcome of his work was, not that the great Company under his guidance prospered for forty years as never before, but that in large measure the West was kept for Canada. The last great efflorescence of the fur economy under the Hudson's Bay monopoly was doomed by the advance of American settlement, speeded by steamboat and railway. That Canadian, and not American, settlement moved in the wake of the fur trade was a result not unaffected by Simpson's career. Why? Simpson was not only a British subject, he was also—and this is an aspect of his career which Professor Morton has not explored—a Montreal business man of the type of McGill and Galt and Strathcona, whose home was at Isle Dorval, who on retirement held for himself and for those for whom he was attorney "1-10th of the total stock of the Bank of Montreal" (p. 280). In his career, as the forces making North American history shifted the balance against the old fur economy, there were already apparent those threads which, in the decade of his death, were to bring the West again into dependence on the east and to renew the Laurentian commercial empire as the Dominion of Canada. Before a final account is struck, Simpson should be seen as the businessman-politician, as the statesman-entrepreneur, not just as governor of the hinterlands where the fur trade still flourished.

W. L. MORTON

University of Manitoba.

A Saga of the St. Lawrence. Timber and Shipping through three Generations. By D. D. CALVIN. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. x, 176. (\$3.00)

Lake Ontario. The American Lakes Series. By ARTHUR POUND. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFFE. Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart]. Pp. xvi, 384. (\$4.50)

DELANO DEXTER CALVIN felled a tree and founded an empire. His grandson and namesake tells the story.

The tree grew on a spot at the foot of Lake Ontario then nothing but a name on a map, Garden Island. From Calvin's inspiration there rose in the wilderness a community, never large in itself—population 761 when incorporated—which built or maintained a fleet of sixty vessels, steam, sail, and towing; ranged states

and provinces on both sides of the international border for timber, controlled millions of acres of it, and exported millions of cubic feet of it to Europe; sent members to two Parliaments; had branch firms and agencies from Hamilton, at the head of Lake Ontario, to Quebec down the St. Lawrence, and, across the seas, to Glasgow and Liverpool. The enterprise endured through three generations, as long as there was timber to be floated from the Great Lakes to the sea.

Calvin, Vermont born, was a woodsman working in a small way from Clayton, New York. When he came to Garden Island, opposite Kingston, Ontario, for oak in 1836 he saw the possibilities of the thirty-five acres of wildwood and put them to use. He bought them, timbered them, built wharves and booms and ships—first schooners, then steamers, and even a square-rigger for the ocean, which delivered his timber in Liverpool. On the island he built his home, the Big House, complete with church, school, farm, and village. He became a British subject and a county warden and a member of the provincial legislature. But part of his heart was always in Jefferson County in New York State, where he retained properties. There he was buried, and his sons ruled in Garden Island in his stead.

The third generation Calvin, Toronto architect, Queen's University trustee, and co-author of *A Corner of Empire*, was born on Garden Island and worked and played among the rafts and schooners and barges and steamers of the great forwarding business which was part of the firm's activities. Later he became resident agent in Quebec. He writes from firsthand knowledge. His descriptions of the handling of timber, of rafts and their navigation, of the Indians, French, and Irish employed in the business, and of life in the timber coves and export offices of Quebec, add hitherto unwritten chapters to the social and economic history of Canada.

The book is a perfect cross-section of individual enterprise in the exploitation of natural resources. It neglects nothing, from the ashes perquisite of the firemen on the woodburning tugs to the embryo of the cartel controlling production to enhance prices. Although Garden Island was a unique patriarchy it encountered modern problems, regulation of output, transportation, labour, housing, and communications. It solved all but that of replenishment of original resources. It worked with and for governments, was self contained, and so efficient that rivals were always availing themselves of its experiences and services. Its foundation was probity.

The author has had access to a treasure-trove, in surviving account books and correspondence, and in marine and timbering data, all sifted to the great benefit of history. His book is full but not long, and well illustrated with photographs and diagrams appropriately placed in the text. Garden Island was one of several timber and shipping exploitations on Lake Ontario, others being centred in Port Britain, Port Dalhousie, and Collins Bay on that Lake. The Calvin enterprise was unique in its extent, and is the first to be so well documented and expounded.

Lake Ontario, by Arthur Pound, does not mention these details. It is dedicated to friends in Oswego and Rochester, New York, by an historian of their State. It suggests less personal experience, acknowledging indebtedness to 113 other books, besides newspapers, magazines, and publicity releases. New York State and the cities mentioned have the lion's share of limelight, or—correction—the eagle's. The British beast in the book is he who gets slapped. Much is said of ancient wars, but nothing of the impact of the Great War and the World War on the lake—except a mistaken assertion that war scarcities have brought the sailing vessel back there. The lake itself is called the poor relation commercially of the other Great Lakes and treated as such.

The book is of interest for its fervid plea for a removal of the international boundary between the Province of Ontario and the State of New York, and canalizing the lake for ocean traffic to the heart of the continent. Delano Dexter Calvin had his own way with international boundaries, and was opposed to unifying lake and ocean transportation. Dr. Pound points out that the Erie Canal brought prosperity to Oswego, Rochester, and New York State towns inland from Lake Ontario, and appears to hope that by removing the international boundary from a region he considers a physical unit, and canalizing Ontario to take ocean traffic to the head of the Great Lakes, decayed ports might revive. The decay of these ports was brought about by the same Erie Canal. He hopes also that Canada might enlarge the Niagara Canal system if the United States enlarged the St. Lawrence Canals for power and ocean navigation purposes. A thorough study of the effects of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-66 upon Lake Ontario's prosperity on either shore might have assisted his argument, but this is another omission.

C. H. J. SNIDER

Toronto.

A Century of Service: A History of the Talbot Street Baptist Church 1845-1945.
By WILLIAM SHERWOOD FOX. With a foreword by the Reverend A. C. ARCHIBALD. London, Ontario: Privately printed for Talbot Street Baptist Church. 1945. Pp. xvi, 103.

In this volume, written to commemorate the centenary of the London congregation, President Fox of the University of Western Ontario has provided a model for such publications, which are becoming ever more numerous as the years bring around important anniversaries. Basing his narrative not alone upon the official minutes of the church boards but also upon newspaper files, letters, and pamphlets and the personal knowledge of older members of the congregation, he has produced a narrative not only of interest to members of a particular church but also of value as a case record in Canadian Baptist history. As is pointed out in the introduction: "As one reads this history he will be increasingly impressed by the fact that here, in a single church history, one finds recorded the sources of much of the power, the difficulties, the contentions and the triumphs which characterized so many churches of the period. In a sense, then, the history of this single church is a record of the inner quality of all the churches."

As was true of so many Upper Canada religious groups, there was at the beginning of this church body an intimate relationship with those of similar faith in the United States. American missionaries were the first to introduce Baptist doctrines into the province and the Talbot Street Church was a direct product of these American influences.

A common weakness in many publications of this kind is the tendency on the part of the writer to gloss over unpleasant matters and to paint too rosy a picture. Dr. Fox has not succumbed to this temptation. He has not hesitated to record those differences of opinion, sometimes heated, which created internal difficulties and sometimes weakened the church's work, but he has in all cases gone behind the scenes, shown how these differences arose and in certain instances has indicated their relationship to influences which were quite outside the church's control.

If we are ever to have scholarly records of the Canadian Protestant denominations we must first have many such local case histories as the one under review.

It is work of this kind done so ably in the United States by Professor W. W. Sweet and others which has raised the whole standard of denominational history writing. Here is a wide open field for some Canadian scholars.

The London church is to be congratulated on having issued a centennial volume not only scholarly in character but also well printed on good paper and with a good choice of illustrations. It is in every way a credit to those who projected its publication.

FRED LANDON

University of Western Ontario.

Quebec: Historic Seaport. By MAZO DE LA ROCHE. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1944. Pp. xii, 212. (\$4.00)

MAZO DE LA ROCHE has so long appealed to so many devotees of fiction that her present public may wonder why she has now attempted history. But the first words of her admirable preface quite clearly explain this change. "After having spent the greater part of my life in writing of imaginary characters it has been a novel experience to write an account of historical events, a strange experience to keep my very active imagination in leash. I have found great fascination in these characters of the past, even with their weight of cold dates, treaties, and acts."

Fortunately for her enlightened readers she has not kept her very active imagination too much in leash; but has allowed her excellent female intuition to probe into many characters and facts that often need much more revealing than the common run of text-books ever give.

But (and a most important but) her honesty compels her to make the following most apposite confession. "There may be errors in this book. If there are, I shall comfort myself with the thought that greater historians than I have flatly contradicted each other. In truth, it has been one of my difficulties to choose between entirely opposite versions of the same event."

This brings us straight to the fundamental fact that no true history can ever be written except after a quite sufficient summing-up of all the proved original expert evidence on both sides. And here and there (alas!) we find our honest author quite misled, and quite misleading, about several crucial points concerned with her *Historic Seaport of Quebec*. For instance, her purely derivative account of the much misunderstood Wolfe and Montcalm campaign is quite wrong, more especially with regard to Montcalm, however impartial she really tries to be. Again, though still impartial, she does not quite succeed in making her readers fully understand the universal influence of sea-power on her beloved seaport: another instance of the regrettable fact that while history is full of sea-power, histories are not.

The early French periods are most sympathetically treated. The Basques, Jacques Cartier, and Champlain; the Récollets, Jesuits, Ursulines, and Hospitalières; Laval, Tracy, Talon, and Frontenac; the habitant and habitante, the voyageur, and the genuine coureur de bois: all get most of the honours they so thoroughly deserve. But there are some omissions of telling points which would have emphasized the story even better. For instance: the lower St. Lawrence was a cornucopia of past and almost present whaling from the Basques of the sixteenth century to the Norwegians of the twentieth. And why not quote the twelve perfect words in which Père Le Jeune described the raiding Iroquois: "They approach like foxes, attack like lions, then fly away like birds"?

Again, our discerning author might have explained the three quite different kinds of "filles du roy" whom Talon so wisely brought out to correct the very adverse balance of the sexes: first, the poor little girls from the King's Parisian orphanage; secondly, the physically perfect Norman peasant girls; and thirdly, those young ladies of superior birth, education, and good looks who were to be the prospective brides of the many young French officers, as well as of the two hundred and twelve gentlemen of title or fortune, or both, who were to be the seigneurs of all the proper settlements. Love on the first day, marriage on the second, was quite common then.

Why omit the excellent garrison theatricals, played by the officers of the Carignan-Salières, under the approving eye of Frontenac, at whose brother-in-law's (Montmort's) Molière first read *Tartuffe*? And why omit Dr. Michel Sarrazin (1659-1734) who was then the greatest biologist of the whole New World, and who was elected correspondent of the Académie Royale des Sciences at the same meeting that elected Sir Isaac Newton?

With regard to ship-building, why is Talon not duly credited with the establishment, in 1670, of what really were the first regular transatlantic liners: Quebec—West Indies—France—Quebec? Then the real "wooden-sailing" year of all Quebec ship-building was 1864, with a hundred and thirteen launchings. The story of the famous *Royal William* is well told, except that her record voyage (1833) was not made "by steam alone," because she also used sails; though she did "keep her kettle on the boil" the whole transatlantic way.

More should have been made of the historic fact that Quebec was by far the greatest timber port the world has ever seen. And lumber-cruising, logging, cribbing, rafting, coving, culling, stowing, sailing, were all well worth description.

But such a generally good and sympathetic author might still write a quite good book about Quebec, if she would only make use of no other works than those which are exclusively based on all the proved original expert evidence required. She rightly worships Parkman as a truly heroic historian, endowed with wonderful human insight, as well as with impartial sympathies. But Parkman never saw some of the quintessential evidence which is now obtainable by Mazo de la Roche.

WILLIAM WOOD

Quebec City.

Earth and High Heaven. By GWETHALYN GRAHAM. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1944. Pp. 288.

Two Solitudes. By HUGH MACLENNAN. Toronto: Collins. 1945. Pp. vii, 370. If analysis and graphic description of the Canadian scene comes within the interests of the Canadian historian, then there need be no excuses given for reviewing novels in this journal. These two books are the first Canadian novels, in so far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, to face frankly and fearlessly the problems of our Canadian society. They perhaps represent for us what the literary school of social criticism a generation ago represented for the United States. They catch Canadian society at a specific point in its evolution, and so make themselves into contributions to Canadian history.

It is not the function of this review to judge their literary qualities. Both are basically novels with a thesis: the question whether the authors have succeeded in lifting their characters and plot from the plane of thesis writing into the individualization of genuine art must here be passed by.

The theses of these two books are so similar that they entail the creating, by separate authors, of characters who might almost be the same persons. Both depict young people of different racial origins and religious groups thrown together against the opposition of an older generation moored in other anchorages—Miss Graham's book being a study in the clash of Gentile and Jew, and Mr. MacLennan's in the conflict of French and English. Both make savage attacks on the stuffy, prosperous society of English-speaking Montreal. Both present a way of life in rapid disintegration. Herein, indeed, lie the elements of tragedy present (though not dominant) in both books: they are pictures of a generation caught between two worlds, between the solid, assured, world of the past, whether Protestant, Catholic, French, or Jewish perhaps did not matter, and the new world of the future, which in its Canadian aspects has first to submerge the relics of European tribalism before it can face the problems posed by the conditions of its own existence. Both books despair of solution and take refuge in that which they virtually confess is no solution, intermarriage.

Our customary Canadian novel is a simple tale about virtuous pioneers; it is steeped in Victorianism and in unreality; it is nostalgic for a past that was much more earthy and vital than it is allowed to appear. We are slowly and reluctantly learning to live in the world around us, the world of our own creation, and these two novels, together with the less directly pointed stories of Mr. Morley Callaghan, are among the first reflections of that fact in Canadian imaginative prose, which in this respect has lagged behind the work of Canadian historians, sociologists, and, indeed, of Canadian poets. As portraits of the current scene, they are, in contrast with older books, entirely of the city. Although they give those nostalgic backward glances to the hills and the lakes in which one finds nearly every Canadian indulging, they look out to no work-a-day world; they glance backward to ski-track and summer hotel, not to ploughed fields. Both books picture a bewildered generation. Persons of the reviewer's age, who knew something of stability once, are definitely put on the shelf; theirs is another and an obsolescent world. These novels reek with insecurity. Their young people are pagans, yet wistful pagans, gazing at a paradise which recedes. The girls get drunk and go on week-ends almost as a matter of course, but they prove rather Victorian when they face the results; because, they might perhaps say, they still have to live in a world made in the image of their elders. Naturally the women are childless; they belong to a vanishing race, *homo anglicanus urbanus*.

But what a devastating indictment of the way of life against which generous young spirits have to dash themselves to pieces. In both books the older generation of wealthy Montrealers live comfortably and smugly on "The Mountain," alike in their devotion to their duty, to their tribal instincts, and to economic status as the measure of all things. They are hostile to everyone not of their race and creed, and they are encased in the inherited armour of their British colonial, Scottish Presbyterian, puritan business mentality; they are members of a ruling class. Both novelists assail this holy of holies with a vigour as refreshing in Canadian writing as it is unusual. They subject the corner-stones of Canadian life to a scrutiny far more searching than they ever receive from the politicians or the sociologists.

"O God, O Montreal," wrote Samuel Butler years ago. He knew little about Montreal. He did not know the city of jarring contrasts, of sharp currents meeting. If this ringing field of battle cannot provide material for a Canadian literature, what part of Canadian life can? Here is the very focus of all the troubled diversities of our life. Novelists can perhaps not be too sharply blamed if they are

distracted from character in the midst of so much sociology. Not that Montreal is unique in these sharp clashes of culture, far from that. All our cities, all our little communities, are filled with racial and religious intolerance. It is the hereditary taint that came out of the English conquest, and ever since that basic event, the typical English-Canadian Protestant has reflected complacently on his superiority to Frenchmen, Catholics, Jews, and "Bohunks." Racial intolerance has been the average Canadian's besetting sin. Such qualities are strident in Toronto and concealed in Winnipeg, but they meet in historic and actual balance in Montreal, a city which looks both ways, to the Atlantic and to the Pacific, and where alone all the loose ends of Canadian life for generations have been gathered up.

In their awareness of Canada, the two novels are among the first to be frankly and unselfconsciously Canadian. In their pages Canada lives; the authors are soaked in the sights and colours of their native land; they are part of it and it is part of them. They debate its merits and its faults, but not its very existence. It is for them a living reality. In Canadian life, they represent a milestone passed.

A. R. M. LOWER

United College, Winnipeg.

Canadian Government and Politics. By H. McD. CLOKIE. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 352. (\$3.00)

IN *Canadian Government and Politics* Professor H. McD. Clokie has written a long desired general text on Canadian government for students beginning the subject, wherein the emphasis is placed upon constitutional structure and political procedures rather than upon social purposes. The requirements of a textbook on any subject are a matter of fairly common agreement: simplicity in writing, comprehension in treatment, successful compression, accuracy, and effective arrangement. All of these features in good measure are present in *Canadian Government and Politics*. In brief, it is a successful text. There will, however, be different opinions as to the author's arrangement of subject matter and on certain of his interpretations. It may be objected, for example, that chapter six on "The Administration of the Dominion of Canada" is not aptly named and is confusing in its comprehensive inclusion of such topics as the Crown in Canada, the Privy Council and Ministry, the political aspects of the Cabinet, the ministers and their departments, and the departments and civil service. The comments upon the Crown in this chapter are closely related to those in the preceding chapter on "The Parliament of Canada," and it would be more effective to group them all within one section. Moreover the peculiar nature of administration in a modern state like Canada might be brought out more sharply; it is somewhat obscured in the omnibus nature of chapter six.

The distinction drawn in chapter three between parliamentarism and federalism in the Canadian constitution is confusing for a beginner, and will not in any case win general acceptance from the experts. Despite the useful notes on reading at the end of each chapter, some foot-note references would be an advantage. While other queries may be raised concerning minor points, all teachers of political science in Canada owe Professor Clokie a debt for this volume. It fills a genuine need.

In addition to the text, there are sixty-six pages of appendices, containing the British North America Act and other significant statutes.

A. BRADY

The University of Toronto.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AHMED, Sir SULTAN. *Wanted: A Commonwealth citizenship* (Empire digest, II (7), Apr., 1945, 20-3). "India can best serve the world and herself by associating with the Commonwealth group. . . . Instead of an Imperial Parliament, I would have a permanent Commonwealth Advisory Council with a Secretariat. Diplomatic exchanges would proceed continuously, but the council should meet for regular sessions in rotation in the various Dominion capitals."

British Commonwealth relations (Round table, no. 139, June, 1945, 218-25). "The problems of the British Commonwealth are those of the whole world. They can be solved only in so far as the nations of the Commonwealth can be integrated into an effective world organization, for security and for welfare."

CARTER, GWENDOLEN M. *Canada's place in the British Commonwealth* (Public affairs, VIII (3), spring, 1945, 142-6). Believes that the maintenance of the Commonwealth is essential for the preservation of the type of international society within which Canada wishes to live.

HALL, H. DUNCAN. *The British Commonwealth as a Great Power* (Foreign affairs, XXIII(4), July 1945, 594-608). A discussion of the nature and implications of the Commonwealth idea in the light of current war and post-war developments. Whether or not it is technically correct to describe the British Commonwealth as a Great Power, it has functioned as one in the past, and the San Francisco Conference presents it in action again as a family group of states.

HILL, A. V. *Scientific co-operation within the British Commonwealth* (United empire, XXXVI (2), March-April, 1945, 56-60).

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *Some problems of the Empire* (Quarterly review, CCLXXXII (559), Jan., 1944, 16-30). Divides the problem into three categories: those relating to the whole Empire, those relating to the self-governing Dominions, and those relating to the dependent Empire.

MARTEL, Sir G. LE Q. *Strong Commonwealth essential to peace* (Saturday night, LX (33), Apr. 21, 1945, 15). The author believes that any weakening of the British Commonwealth would endanger future world peace. He would propose setting up a Commonwealth military staff with each Dominion directly responsible for the maintenance of certain bases, forces, and communications.

NELSON, Sir GEORGE. *Great economic units: The British Commonwealth and the world* (United empire, XXXVI (3), May-June, 1945, 91-5). Advocates co-ordination of action among the nations of the Empire in economic questions.

Scientific collaboration (Empire digest, II (7), Apr., 1945, 67-9). Discusses imperial scientific co-operation and the Royal Society's plan to call an Empire Scientific Conference in London as soon as practicable after the war.

SWANZY, HENRY. *A letter on the Commonwealth* (Political quarterly, XVI (2), Apr.-June, 1945, 158-69). Discusses the spiritual and cultural opportunities latent in the Commonwealth.

TROTTER, R. G. *The Commonwealth and the world* (Peace with Progress series, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, special series, 1945, 23-41). This is a report on

the Third Commonwealth Relations Conference of February, 1945. Among the questions discussed were security and the nature of the Commonwealth, its foreign policy and the problem of Europe, defence, economic policy, civil aviation and intra-Commonwealth communications, colonies, and world organization.

WHYTE, SIR FREDERICK. *British Commonwealth in conference in London* (English-speaking world, XXVII (2), Feb.-March, 1945, 228-9). A brief report on the Conference held in London in February, 1945, at Chatham House.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BEAUDIN, DOMINIQUE. *On reconstruit la tour de Babel . . . à San Francisco* (L'Action nationale, XXV (4), avril, 1945, 282-90). Believes that goodwill among nations is essential to a lasting peace and questions whether it is present at San Francisco.

Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Diplomatic list with which is included the list of British Commonwealth representatives and of Consuls General in Ottawa*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 22.

Charter of the United Nations: Report to the President on the results of the San Francisco Conference by the chairman of the United States delegation, the Secretary of State. (Department of State publication, 2349: Conference series 71.) Washington: Department of State. 1945. Pp. 266. A useful summary of the achievements of the San Francisco Conference, with an account of the purposes, principles, and organization of the United Nations, and with an appendix of relevant documents.

COLDWELL, M. J. *Canada's foreign policy* (in Planning for Freedom, Ontario CCF, 1944, 162-71). "Few Canadians can be found today who will deny that, for better or worse, Canada has been drawn into a vortex of international affairs. For numerous ties—cultural, political and economic—bind Canada as a member of the world community of nations, and confer upon Canadians citizenship in the world community."

CONRAD, HAROLD E. *Canada's position in world affairs* (World affairs interpreter, XV (4), winter, 1945, 400-6). An American view of Canada's rise to her present position.

CONROY, PAT. *Canada and the I.L.O.* (Public affairs, VIII (3), spring, 1945, 146-50). Despite constitutional restrictions under the B.N.A. Act., Canada has played and is playing a considerable part in the activities of the International Labour Office.

COUSINEAU, ROSARIO. *Organisation administrative publique au Canada: Le ministère des Affaires extérieures* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (2), avril-juin, 1945, 144-55). A survey of the origins and development of the Department of External Affairs, its functions, personnel, salaries and living allowances, and organization both in Ottawa and abroad.

DENISON, MERRILL. *Canada in Manhattan* (Maclean's magazine, LVIII (10), May 15, 1945, 18, 26, 28). Hugh Scully, Canada's only Consul General has, since he came to New York in May, 1943, "blazed a new trail in Canada's foreign service, established a constructive tradition for the consulates that will surely be opened in other American cities, and further cemented the good will between two North American democracies."

EVATT, H. V. *The Dominions and San Francisco* (Vital speeches, XI (16), June 1, 1945, 486-7). Mr. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, thinks that it would be wise to regard the Dumbarton Oaks plan as being of a transitional rather than a permanent character.

FRASER, BLAIR. *Backstage at San Francisco* (Maclean's magazine, LVIII (12), June 15, 1945, 7, 45-8). A discussion of the questions of whether an acceptable charter can be drafted and whether, once it is formulated, it can be made to function.

- FRASER, BLAIR. *Canada at San Francisco* (Maclean's magazine, LVIII (9), May 1, 1945, 11, 60-3, 66-7). There are a number of things in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals to which Canada objects, but she is ready to co-operate and to compromise up to the limit of what is politically feasible to make the United Nations as successful a peace-time, as it was a war-time, organization.
- HOWE, C. D. Text of an address by. *Pattern for world aviation* (United Nations review, V (2), Mar. 15, 1945, 49-53). Text of an address by C. D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction, to the Canadian Club of Toronto on February 19, 1945, dealing with Canada's part in the Commonwealth Conference at Montreal, the International Conference at Chicago, and the Canada-United States Conference at New York.
- Joint statement by the chairmen of two committees set up by the American and Canadian Bar Associations. *The International court of the United Nations organization* (International conciliation no. 411, May, 1945, 345-62). This is a summary of the combined views of twenty-five Regional Group Conferences held throughout the United States and Canada on the question of the nature and functions of a United Nations' court of justice.
- KERR, W. B. *Maintaining the peace* (Legionary magazine, May, 1945, 12-13, 48).
Problems of the peace (Legionary magazine, Feb., 1945, 9-11, 45-8).
- LINGARD, C. C. *Security in the Pacific* (Peace with Progress series, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, special series, 1945, 3-22). This is a report on the Ninth Institute of Pacific Relations Conference of January, 1945, which discussed the significant issues of security and development in the post-war Pacific.
- McHENRY, DEAN E. *The San Francisco Conference: An appraisal* (Canadian forum, XXV (293), June, 1945, 62-3). "Although the charter will be imperfect, it will represent an important step toward a practical collective security system. . . . The peoples of the world have good reason to hope for an eventual 'more perfect union'."
- MACKINNON, JAMES A. *Canada's trade commissioner service* (Canadians all, III (1), spring, 1945, 30-1, 47). The trade commissioner service as we know it today began in 1895. Before the present war Canada had trade commissioners in about two dozen countries, and new appointments and plans are being made to promote Canadian trading plans in the post-war world.
- MALLORY, J. R. *Canada's part in world security* (Public affairs, VIII (3), spring, 1945, 137-42). A survey of Canada's record in international co-operation.
- MORTON, A. C. *Canada looks south* (Rotarian, August, 1944, 11, 49-50). A discussion of the new ties—cultural, social, and economic—between Canada and Latin America.
- PEARSON, L. B. Excerpts from a speech by. *Difficulties in the way of international co-operation* (United Nations review, V (2), Mar. 15, 1945, 53-7). Excerpts from a speech by L. B. Pearson, Canadian ambassador to the United States, at the University of Toronto, February 23, 1945.
- PIERCE, S. D. and PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *Canada's relations with war-time agencies in Washington* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (3), Aug., 1945, 402-19). This is an account of Canada's relations with the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration, and the various United States agencies regulating civilian supplies. On the whole these relations exhibit a remarkable degree of co-operation.
- SKILLING, H. GORDON. *A chance for world security*. (Canadian Affairs series, II (8).) Ottawa: King's Printer. May 1, 1945. Pp. 20. Discusses the chances for success of the San Francisco Conference, the failure of the League of Nations, and the meaning of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

SKILLING, H. GORDON. *Canada: Good neighbor to the north* (in *Problems of the Postwar World: A Symposium on Postwar Problems*, ed. by T. C. T. McCORMICK, New York and London, 1945, pp. 490-513). An outline of the principles of Canada's external relations.

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Le Canada dans l'ordre international: Tribune d'information sur les problèmes de l'après-guerre*. (Émissions faites sur le Réseau Français de la Société Radio-Canada.) Montréal: Editions Fides. 1944. Pp. 346. (\$1.50) A series of interviews and discussions first conducted over the radio during the winter of 1943-4 with Mr. Raymond Tanghe as the chief interlocutor and participant. These discussions, printed here as conversations, concern various aspects of Canada's post-war foreign relations such as: world markets for wheat, and for forest products; tariff policy; the national debt; immigration; the future of commercial aviation; Canada and Pan-Americanism; the general principles of Canadian foreign policy, etc. Many of the participants in the discussions were well-known French Canadians, i.e.: Roger Duhamel, François-Albert Angers, Esdras Minville, Jean-Charles Harvey, and others. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

TROTTER, R. G. *Future Canadian-American relations* (Queen's quarterly, LII (2), summer, 1945, 215-29). A happy future for Canadian-American relations does not lie in assimilation or subordination, but in a mutual understanding and tolerance of the diversities in our traditions as well as a recognition of the respects in which we are one.

WOOLF, LEONARD. *The United Nations* (Political quarterly, XVI (1), Jan.-Mar., 1945, 12-20). A competent analysis of the United Nations organization.

III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

CASSIDY, HARRY M. *Public health and welfare organization: The postwar problem in the Canadian provinces*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 464. (\$4.50, cloth; \$3.50, paper) A sequel to *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada* (Toronto, 1943). To be reviewed later.

CLOSE, J. F. *One million more jobs*. (Behind the Headlines series, V (4).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1945. Pp. 28. (10c.) A discussion of the possibilities of full employment and an increased standard of living for Canadians.

FARRELL, JON. *History in the taking: Some notes about the Canadian Army Film and Photo Unit* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (6), June, 1945, 277-87).

GARCZYNSKI, LEON S. *Canada: Refuge to unfortunate war victims* (Canadians all, II (1), autumn, 1943, 10-12, 20, 55-7). Divides his subject into three classifications, royal refugees, soldiers and sailors of the United Nations, and refugees in Canada's war industries.

General Griesbach, our beloved friend (The forty-niner, no. 41, July, 1945, 3-9). An obituary article on Major-General W. A. Griesbach, who served in the First World War, was appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1921, and in the Second World War served as Inspector-General of the Canadian Army in western Canada.

Home as we'll find it. (Looking Ahead series, no. 1.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 32. Aims at giving a factual background for the discussion by servicemen and women of the problems of rehabilitation.

The job we've done. (Looking Ahead series, no. 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 48. This booklet supplies material on Canada's part in the war, and is meant to form a basis for discussion by service personnel.

KING, WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE. *Canada and the fight for freedom*. New York: Doubleday, Doran [Toronto: Macmillan Co.]. 1945. Pp. xxvi, 326. (\$3.00)

Excerpts from speech in House of Commons, April 4, 1945. *The Pacific war* (United Nations review, V (3), May 15, 1945, 127). Describes the broad lines upon which it is intended that Canadian forces will participate in the Pacific.

His speech on post-war world organization (United Nations review, IV (6), Sept. 15, 1944, 224-5).

MACKENZIE, IAN A. *Futures for war veterans* (Echoes, no. 179, summer, 1945, 6-7, 16).

RICHARDS, A. E. *Canada's contribution to the food supply of the United Nations* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (1), July, 1945, 51-3). Facts on the world food situation and Canada's position with respect to present needs.

SCOBELL, S. C. *Business and post-war jobs*. (Canadian Affairs series, II (9).) Ottawa: King's Printer. June 1, 1945. Pp. 20.

SISE, HAZEN. *A place to live*. (Canadian Affairs series, II (7).) Ottawa: King's Printer. April 15, 1945. Pp. 20. Advocates that citizens act simultaneously with governing bodies in the re-planning of our communities.

WILLIAMSON, O. T. G. *Civvy street: Red light or green?* (Canada Must Choose series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 28. (25c.)

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

ALEXANDER, EDWARD P. *Getting the most out of local history* (Michigan history magazine, XXIX (1), Jan.-Mar., 1945, 5-21). "The way to get the most out of local history is to get busy gathering and using the materials of local history and to put all the time and work and skill that can be mobilized in the community into the task."

BIRON, HERVÉ. *Les Archives du Séminaire des Trois-Rivières* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 47-50). Historical material of considerable interest is in the possession of the Séminaire; not yet completely classified, it will, in future, make the Archives a rich source for historians.

BOISSONNAULT, CHARLES-MARIE. *La méthode historique d'Egidius Fauteux* (Revue dominicaine, LI, mai, 1945, 280-7). "Une analyse adroite et un art remarquable dans la composition, en même temps qu'une interprétation historique de la plus haute probité, font d'Egidius Fauteux un maître de l'histoire canadienne."

BONNAULT, CLAUDE DE. *Pierre-Georges Roy* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 11-18). Tribute to the contributions made by the well-known French-Canadian historian; the material is drawn from M. Bonnauld's introduction to Antoine Roy's *L'Oeuvre historique de Pierre-Georges Roy*.

Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Janvier-Février, 1945, Numéro spécial. Lévis, P.Q. 1945. Pp. 123. Numbers 1 and 2 of volume LI of the B.R.H. are given over very largely to a well-merited celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the journal by Pierre-Georges Roy. A number of letters and articles do honour to Mr. Roy who, as Editor of the *Bulletin*, and as Archivist of the Province of Quebec, has done so much to further the cause of history not only in French Canada but throughout the country. Though Mr. Roy has retired from his post of Archivist, he continues to edit the *Bulletin*. We hope that he may be spared many years more to carry on the good work which he has energetically pursued now for over half-a-century. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

COLLARD, EDGAR ANDREW. *Sir William Dawson and the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 41-5). No collections of any sort were owned by McGill University when Principal Dawson took office; twenty

years later, the collections, mostly the work of Sir William, had become so large and so valuable that the Peter Redpath Museum was opened in 1882 to accommodate them.

FRÉGault, GUY. *Actualité de Garneau* (L'Action universitaire, XI (7), mars, 1945, 8-16). The author believes that Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* is as pertinent in interpretation today as it was when it appeared in 1845.

HEILBRON, BERTHA L. *How to organize a local historical society*. (American Association for State and Local History, Bulletin, I (9).) Washington: American Association for State and Local History. 1944. Pp. 227-56. (35c.)

L., F. *The Coverdale Collection* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 114-16). The Coverdale Collection of Canadiana now has expanded to over three thousand items; brought together by the President of the Canada Steamship Lines, it is housed in the two hotels of the company at Murray Bay and Tadoussac.

LACROIX, BENOÎT-M. *A la Mémoire de Garneau* (La Revue dominicaine, LI, fév., 1945, 74-80). An inquiry into the purpose of Garneau in writing his *Histoire du Canada*, his style, and his place among the historians of his day.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Un Abbé part en guerre contre un sulpicien*. Montréal. Éditions Ducharme. 1943. Pp. 23. (25c.) An able critical analysis of Mgr Tanguay's critique of Faillon's, *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada*. Major Lantot's conclusion is that Sulte was right when he said, "Tanguay has no historical sense at all"; and that Tanguay should have stuck to genealogy in which field he made very valuable contributions.

MURRAY, ELSIE. *A Canadian library fosters regional history* (Library journal, Jan. 15, 1945, 52-4). A description of the methods used by the University of Western Ontario Library in collecting and caring for the historical records of the London district, and in fostering an interest in historical research.

PARKER, DONALD D. *Local history: How to gather it, write it, and publish it*. Revised and edited by BERTHA E. JOSEPHSON. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1944. Pp. xiv, 186.

PROVOST, HONORIUS. *Mgr Amédée Gosselin, archiviste* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 67-8). A review of the historical contributions made by Mgr Gosselin, formerly archivist at the Séminaire de Laval at Quebec City.

ROQUEBRUNE, R. LA ROQUE DE. *Souvenirs d'un archiviste canadien à Paris* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 37-9). Appointed by the Public Archives of Canada to work in the Paris Archives in 1919, the author recalls the absorbing material he found there on the history of Canada; he escaped just before the German invasion in June, 1940.

ROY, HENRI. *Les Dossiers aux Archives Judiciaires de Québec* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 65). Some useful information about historical material contained in these Archives.

[Le Séminaire des Trois-Rivières.] *L'Abbé Tessier: Sa vie, son œuvre: Numéro spécial du Séminaire des Trois-Rivières (Le S.T.R.), janvier, 1944*. Trois Rivières: Le Séminaire. 1944. Pp. 31. (10c.) This special number of the students' paper of the Séminaire de Trois Rivières is devoted to a series of articles about the life and activities of Abbé Tessier. It is a tribute to a man who has done more than any other to arouse the interest of the people of his region, la Mauricie, in their history, their folklore, and their regional life. Abbé Tessier is one of those *animateurs* that the French-Canadian priesthood produces with remarkable frequency. His contributions to the study of local history in French Canada have been very important, as his activities have been the model for others in many places. A partial bibliography of his writings is included. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

(2) Discovery and Exploration

BURFEE, LAWRENCE J. *John Cabot of Bristol* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (1), July, 1945, 48-9). Some notes on the 1497 and 1498 voyages of John Cabot to America.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *L'Enigme Américaine*. (Collection Radio-Collège.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1943. Pp. 189. A series of popular radio talks on European explorers, and on exploration in North America, especially in Canada.

(3) New France

FREGAULT, GUY. *La Civilisation de la Nouvelle France*. Montréal: La Société des Éditions Pascal. 1944. Pp. 289. (\$2.25) Reviewed on page 319.

GROULX, the Abbé LIONEL. *Jeanne Mance* (L'Action nationale, XXV (3), mars, 1945, 175-96). In this article on Jeanne Mance, the founder of the first hospital in Ville-Marie, the Abbé Groulx wishes "tout au plus dégager, ponctuer quelques traits généraux de la figure et de la vie de Jeanne Mance."

ROY, ANTOINE. *Inventaire des greffes des notaires du régime français*, III, IV, V. Québec: Archives de la Province de Québec. 1943. Pp. 300; 254; 334. These three volumes continue the valuable calendar of the notarial records of New France being published by the Archivist of the Province of Québec. Volume III completes the records of Romain Becquet (Québec), covering the period 1666-82. It also begins the records of Gilles Rageot (Québec), the period 1666-74 being included. Volume IV is devoted entirely to this notary's records, and covers the years, 1675-1702. Volume V contains the calendar of the records of Antoine Adhémar (Montréal area) for the years, 1668-99. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

R[OY], P.-G. *Les "Forts" de la région de Montréal* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 148-50). In the summer of 1729 thirty-three forts were ordered to be constructed by the engineer, Mr. Robert de la Morendière, for the defence of Montreal.

WOODLEY, E. C. *Where is grave of Champlain?* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 117-18). A query as to where Champlain was actually buried.

(4) British North America before 1867

BELTING, NATALIA M. *Kaskaskia, "the Versailles of the West"* (Indiana magazine of history, XLI (1), Mar., 1945). A description of the origins and early history of Kaskaskia and the villages of the Illinois country which were settled during the French régime.

DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Les Aventures d'un Canadien au Mexique dans les premières années du XVIIIe siècle* (*Histoires, Légendes, Destins*, par P. Daviault, Montréal, 1945, 41-7). Describes the adventures of Juchereau de Saint-Denis, uncle of D'Iberville.

FAYE, STANLEY. *A search for copper on the Illinois River: The journal of Legardeur Delisle* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXVIII (1), Mar., 1945, 38-57). This journal of Legardeur Delisle, a cadet of Fort de Chartres, records a voyage that he made on the Illinois River in May, 1722, to escort the Sieur Renaud on a search for mines in this district.

HAWKINS, GRACE. *Some ways of managing Indians around Detroit in early days* (Michigan history, XXIX (2), Apr.-June, 1945, 198-203). Describes some of the means that Cadillac and his followers used to manage the Indians so that profit as well as peace would come to the Detroit settlement.

JOHNSON, ALICE. *First governor on the bay* (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 22-5). An outline of the career of Charles Bayley prior to his appointment as first overseas governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

MCCALL, CLAYTON W. *A British medal of Michigan interest* (Michigan history, XXIX (1), Jan.-Feb., 1945, 51-8). The only silver British military medal with a

bar commemorating an engagement fought in the United States is the Army General Service Medal of 1848, belatedly struck and presented to 267 of those engaged in the capture of Fort Detroit in 1812.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Radisson and Des Groseilliers* (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 36-41). A discussion of the puzzling problem of the travels of Radisson and Groseilliers, and an account of their association with the Hudson's Bay Company.

PARNELL, C. *Life at Charles Fort* (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 55-6). A description of the living conditions at Charles Fort around 1670 in this earliest period of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading operations.

Prophecy in bronze (Hydro news, XXXII (6), June, 1945, 19-20). Concerning a rare coin designed for the Copper Company of Upper Canada in 1794 prophesying, by means of a river god reclining on two hydria at the junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, the future development of Ontario through its waterways.

R[oy], P.-G. *La Journée des Dupes* (B.R.H., LI (4), avril, 1945, 174-6). Some notes on transactions that took place on various January fifteenths.

The Royal Charter [of the Hudson's Bay Company]. With a foreword by CHESTER MARTIN (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 26-35). This is a printing of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter from a photostat of the original in the Company's archives.

STEARNS, R. P. *The Royal Society and the [Hudson's Bay] Company* (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 8-13). This article is a résumé of the early mutually profitable relationships between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Society.

TRAQUIR, RAMSAY. *The coat of arms* [of the Hudson's Bay Company] (The Beaver, outfit no. 276, June, 1945, 42-6). The original grant of arms to the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have been lost, and was replaced in 1921. They are used today as a trademark and for decoration.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Secours direct familiales* (L'Action nationale, XXV (5), mai, 1945, 330-53). Disapproves of the socialistic tendency of direct financial assistance to Canadian families, of the increased taxes it necessitates, and of the trend towards increased federal powers that it involves.

ARÈS, RICHARD. *L'Église et le nationalisme*. Montréal: École Sociale Populaire. 1944. Pp. 32. (15c.)

BINSSE, H. L. *Mood of Quebec: About several things particularly anti-clericalism* (Commonweal, XL, June 16, 1944, 198-200).

BOLDUC, ALBERT. *La Famille grenouille*. (Albums BB, no. 1.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1944. Pp. 63. (\$1.00)

BOUCHARD, T.-D. *L'Enseignement de l'histoire: Discours prononcé au Sénat, le 21 juin, 1944*. Saint-Hyacinthe: L'Imprimerie Yamaska Ltée. 1944. Pp. 30. This is the now-famous speech delivered before the Senate on June 21, 1944. In this speech Senator Bouchard discussed the value of having one textbook of Canadian history used by both English and French Canadians; remarked upon the dangers of misunderstanding and bias which have arisen through the misuse of history in the schools; and denounced the extremists in French Canada, particularly the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier. The speech closes with these lines: "Our representative institutions and our association with the other nations of the Commonwealth have given us internal peace and prosperity. We must align ourselves with those who are ready to make every sacrifice to maintain these in their integrity. Thus will we find safety and happiness." [R. M. SAUNDERS]

- BOUCHARD, T.-D. *Tout un peuple se dresse: Le discours du sénateur Bouchard*. Montréal: École Sociale Populaire. 1944. Pp. 32. (15c.)
- BUCHANAN, DONALD. *This is Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. 78. (\$2.00) A collection of sixty photographs accompanied by explanatory notes depicting the Canadian way of life.
- CALVIN, D. D. *Saga of the St. Lawrence*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 176. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 322.
- Canada, Dept. of National Health and Welfare. *Family allowances: A children's charter*. With a supplement, *Family allowances and income tax*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. [20], [4].
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce. *Canada 1945: Official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 224. (25c.)
- Canada, Dominion of. *Report of the Department of Public Archives for the year 1944* by GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. xlii, 154. The Archivist's Report for 1944 contains a number of interesting documents, among which the most valuable are probably the initial proceedings of the first British North American House of Assembly, held at Halifax in October, 1758, and a series of appeals addressed to the citizens of the Town of Quebec on the eve of the first general election in Lower Canada. The appendix of the Report continues the calendar of Series Q for Upper Canada during the years 1838-9. [D. G. CREIGHTON]
- Canada in World War II*. Montreal: William S. Boas. 1945. Pp. 612. A handsomely produced and copiously illustrated account of Canada's greatly expanded wartime industries, together with backgrounds of the governmental departments, and accounts of Canadian companies and business men.
- Canada's government* (Royal Bank of Canada, monthly letter, June, 1945, 1-4).
- CHAUVIN, FRANCIS X. *Is national unity really attainable in Canada?; Socialism and racism a menace to unity; An independent state on the St. Lawrence; Geography makes Canada's unity a serious problem* (Saturday night, LX (nos. 11, 16, 24, 26), Nov. 18, 1944, 6-7; Dec. 23, 1944, 6-7; Feb. 17, 1945, 6-7; March 3, 1945, 12-13).
- CLASPY, EVERETT M. *Supplement to the Canadian section of atlas of parliamentary government*. Dowagiac, Mich.: The author. 1945. Pp. 6. A supplement to the original atlas issued in 1939, which brings it up to date to 1945.
- COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Election issues in Canada* (Current history, VIII (44), Apr., 1945, 323-9). Deals with the conscription problem and the Grey North by-election, and discusses the platforms of the CCF, Liberal, and Progressive Conservative parties.
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Election moral: National party must look to French Canada* (Saturday night, LX (41), June 16, 1945, 8). "The moral [of the federal election] for all Canadian political parties is that . . . any political party with national aspirations must draw some of its strength from French-Canada."
- Election notes* (Canadian forum, XXV (293), June, 1945, 57-8). A short historical survey of Canada's six general elections since the First World War.
- EUSTACE, C. J. *The "So-Creds" come to town* (National home monthly, XLVI (4), Apr., 1945, 18, 26-9). An interview with Solon Low, president of the Social Credit Association, concerning the Association's policies.
- FOWKE, VERNON. *Economic effects of the war on the prairie economy* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (4), Aug., 1945, 373-87). In the decade before 1939 the Prairie Provinces were fast losing their importance in the Canadian political and economic scene. It is suggested that they have derived an increased importance within the Canadian confederation by virtue of the Second World War and the increased need for staple-product agriculture that it entailed.

- La Gerbe: Almanach du Canada français.* Montréal: La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. 1945. Pp. 160. This almanac, of which this year's issue is the first number, is a new effort on the part of the Montreal section of the "Société nationale" to arouse French Canadians to an increased consciousness of and pride in their identity as a distinctive "national" group. Roger Duhamel states in the preface that "each one will be able to find in it information that will enable him to be adequately acquainted with our situation, and will also discover, in what we are accomplishing, motives of pride and a stimulus to action." The fact that of five full-page photographs which grace the volume, two are of Henri Bourassa and André Laurendeau, is sufficient indication of the spirit and intent of the work. [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- GORDON, R. S. *Equality for French Canada is essential for unity* (Today, I (2), Dec., 1944, 6-7, 28-30). The Quebecois's economic grievances must be met before a united Canada can be achieved.
- GOULD, MARGARET. *Family allowances in Canada.* (Canada Must Choose series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 38. (25c.)
- GRANT, GEORGE. *Have we a Canadian nation?* (Public affairs, VIII (3), spring, 1945, 161-6). "Canada will only continue to exist as long as we represent something individual and special in ourselves."
- GREGORY, GOLDWIN. *Should Labrador come back to Canada* (Saturday night, LX (39), June 2, 1945, 16-17). The author believes that Canada has at least as equitable a claim to Labrador as Newfoundland, though he doubts if it could be sustained on the compensatory basis advanced by Quebec.
- GRUBE, G. M. A. *Freedom and the CCF* (in Planning for Freedom, Ontario CCF, 1944, 12-24). "We in the CCF . . . believe in freedom, we believe in democracy. It is, and always has been, our sincere intention to attain power by democratic means and to exercise power by democratic methods."
- HAMBLETON, GEORGE. *House on the hill.* (Canadian Affairs series, II (10).) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 20. "This article tells how parliament began, how it developed and how it works today."
- John Bracken Says.* Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. 134. This is a collection of Mr. Bracken's speeches delivered during the years 1942-4. The first address, entitled "The People's Charter and the Future of Canada" was given at Winnipeg, in December, 1942, on the occasion of Mr. Bracken's acceptance of the leadership of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The eight other addresses included in the volume are as follows: "The Challenge to Canadians"; "Manpower in Wartime"; "Equality for Agriculture"; "Canada Must Choose"; "Partnership for Labour and Teamwork in Industry"; "A New National Policy"; "A Charter of Rights for Youth"; "A Policy for Guaranteeing Equitable Incomes to Primary Producers." [D. G. Creighton]
- KING, WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE, as quizzed by BLAIR FRASER. *What do the Liberals stand for?* (Maclean's magazine, LVIII (3), Feb. 1, 1945, 10-11, 38-40). The Prime Minister answers thirty-three vital questions as to his party's policies and programme.
- LANGIS, PIERRE-PAUL. *Imperialismes* (L'Action universitaire, XI (9), mai, 1945, 16-17). Discusses the menace to French Canada of British, American, and Canadian imperialism.
- LEBEL, LÉON. *Seront-elles accordées aux Parents ou aux enfants* (Relations, V (no. 55), juillet, 1945, 174-6). The author believes that the law concerning family allowances should be changed so that they are clearly allotted to the parents jointly (not the children) with the obligation of spending it for the children's benefit.
- LEDoux, BURTON. *Le Problème des cartels* (Relations, V (no. 53), mai, 1945, 118-21). Mr. LeDoux warns that the fusion of political authority with economic power in the hands of a small group of men is a dangerous tendency in Canada.

- LOW, SOLON as quizzed by BLAIR FRASER. *What does Social Credit stand for?* (Maclean's magazine, LVIII (8), Apr. 15, 1945, 10-11, 31-4). Mr. Solon answers thirty-three questions concerning important aspects of Social Credit policy.
- MARTIN, PAUL. *A lifetime of public service: A brief biographical sketch of Mackenzie King*. Ottawa: The author [Secretary of State]. March, 1945. Pp. 48. (25c.)
- MONTPETIT, ÉDOUARD. *Souvenirs. I. Vers la Vie*. Montréal: Éditions de L'Arbre. 1944. Pp. 215. (\$1.50) These are the revealing, piquant memories of a man who has played a major part in the cultural development of French Canada during the last generation. The impact of French culture, and especially of the thinking of certain French teachers and writers, such as René Bazin, upon the mind of a young French-Canadian visitor, is vividly portrayed. To anyone interested not only in Mr. Montpetit but also in the way in which French Canadians look at France this first volume of Mr. Montpetit's memoirs is of first-rate importance. We look forward to the succeeding volumes. [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- PIERCE, LORNE. *A Canadian people*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. x, 84. (\$1.50, cloth; \$1.00, paper.) To be reviewed later.
- Planning for freedom: Sixteen lectures on the CCF, its policies and program*. Toronto: Ontario CCF. 1944. Pp. 180. These are a series of lectures delivered during the winter and spring of 1944 under the sponsorship of the Membership Education Committee of the Ontario CCF, and intended as a basis of discussion of the policy and problems of the CCF party. The articles of general interest to Canadian history are listed separately in this bibliography.
- Professional Institute of the Civil Service of Canada. *Silver Jubilee history, 1920-1945*. Ottawa. 1945. Pp. 134.
- RINFRET, THIBAUDEAU. *Le Canada: Son passé, son avenir*. (L'Oeuvre des Tracts, no. 311.) Montréal: École Sociale Populaire. 1945. Pp. 15.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Canada's empire* (United empire, XXXVI (3), May-June, 1945, 84-5). A speech before the Royal Empire Society on March 7, 1945, in London, making reference to Canada's empire, the Yukon and Northwest Territories.
- SCOTT, F. R. *Constitutional adaptations to changing functions of government* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (3), Aug., 1945, 329-41). Some parts of the Canadian constitution, such as the control over foreign affairs, have proved flexible, others, such as the federal authority over trade and commerce, industrial legislation, and social insurance, inflexible in the face of new demands upon the state. In war-time, constitutional adaptations are not a problem; but with the advent of peace, a decision will have to be made between further amendment or renewed insecurity and frustration.
- SMITH, I. NORMAN. *Bullets and ballots*. (Canadian Affairs series, II (6).) Ottawa: King's Printer. April 1, 1945. Pp. 20. Describes the machinery for recording the service vote in the federal election recently held.
- STANBURY, J. G. STUART. *Citizenship papers mean more than beer books* (Saturday night, LX (36), May 12, 1945, 12). The author dislikes our loose naturalization procedure and suggests a Canadian primer on the duties of citizenship and the principles of British democracy.
- Survey of Canadian legislation. Dominion of Canada* by BORA LASKIN. *Maritime Provinces* by G. F. CURTIS. *Ontario* by E. H. SILK. *Quebec* by BROOKE CLAXTON. *Western Provinces* by F. C. CRONKITE (University of Toronto law journal, VI (1), Lent term, 1945, 244-68). This survey appears annually in the *Journal*.
- THORBURN, ELLA M. and WHITTON, CHARLOTTE. *Canada's Chapel of Remembrance*. Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott. [1944.] Pp. 64. (50c.) A finely-printed and illustrated pamphlet describing the national Chapel of Remembrance in the Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.

TORY, H. M. *Canadian citizenship*. (Text of an address to the Canadian Club of Montreal.) Ottawa: Canadian Council on Education. 1945. Pp. 15. (5c.) "The maintenance of our common citizenship is merely a matter of purpose and good will. The ideals are already in our possession."

Trends in Canadian democracy (Round table, no. 139, June, 1945, 261-7). "All [Canadian parties] postulate the position of Canada as a self-governing nation, all accept its free position in the Commonwealth, all would seek to make real its collaboration with other States of the Commonwealth, and all appear to see no conflict between a free Commonwealth and an international system."

UNDERHILL, F. H. *Dominion-Provincial relations* (in *Planning for Freedom*, Ontario CCF, 1944, 149-61). Professor Underhill's article is divided into four parts: Dominion-provincial relations as laid down in the B.N.A. Act; Canada's two constitutions—war-time and peace-time; what constitutional changes are needed to equip us with a national government able to handle problems which are national in scope; and the process of constitutional amendment.

WOODLEY, E. C. *Our Canadian government: A guide to government and the rights and duties of Canadian citizens*. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada). 1944. Pp. 94. (50c.)

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

CARSON, K. C. *Empire study—New Brunswick* (Echoes, no. 178, spring, 1945, 10, 23-4, 37). A short historical sketch of the province.

(2) The Province of Quebec

Aluminium Company of Canada. *Annual convention of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities: Visit to the Saguenay District, June 14-15, 1944*. Quebec: Aluminium Co. of Canada. [1944.] Pp. 32. This is a souvenir booklet prepared to assist the visiting convention of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in understanding something of the Saguenay District. It has historical notes on "The Kingdom of the Saguenay," Chicoutimi, Arvida, Shipshaw, Isle Maligne, Bagotville, and accounts of the Saguenay District's industrial development.

BOUCHARD, GEORGES. *Habitant ou paysan* (Paysana, nos. 5-6, juillet-août, 1945, 6-7). The author dislikes the application of the term "paysan" to French Canadians because it is contrary to history, tradition, definition, and even common sense. Quebec's habitants are not peasants.

CLOUTIER, JOSEPH. *La Seigneurie Vincelotte et ses maîtres* (Le Canada français, XXXII (10), juin, 1945, 729-34). Tells of the seigneurie of Vincelotte which is one of those rare estates that has remained in the same family from its concession in 1672 until the present time.

Le Conseil supérieur de la Coopération. *L'Inventaire du mouvement coopératif: Comptes rendus de 5e congrès général des coopérateurs, 1943*. Québec: Le Conseil. 1944. Pp. 259.

COUTURE, C.-E. *Un Projet—une loi—une appréciation* (Relations, V (no. 55), juillet, 1945, 171-2). A discussion of the recent law passed by the legislative assembly of Quebec providing for organized settlement of available regions in Quebec according to progressive and rational methods.

L'Épopée militaire canadienne-française (Canadian military journal, XIII (4), July, 1945, 25, 27). Some notes on French-Canadian military history from the beginnings of the colony to the First and Second World Wars.

FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *L'Épopée de Shawinigan*. Shawinigan Falls: Guertin et Gignac. 1944. Pp. 427.

FISHER, CLAUDE L. *Quebec—a city apart* (Empire digest, II (7), Apr., 1945, 33-40). Some of the writer's recollections of his first visit to Quebec City.

L'Institut agricole d'Oka. *L'Institut agricole d'Oka: Cinquantenaire, 1893-1943*. Oka, P.Q.: L'Institut agricole d'Oka, La Trappe. 1944. Pp. 544. (\$3.50)

LELAND, MARINE. *French Canada: An example of what America is learning* (Modern language journal, XXIX (5), May, 1945, 389-402). "This article is an attempt to summarize briefly and accurately, the historical background and present day situation of the Province of Quebec, the modern incarnation of New France of Colonial days."

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Fief Nazareth-Griffintown, Quartier Sainte-Anne* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 73-4). Some notes on this section of Montreal.

MORIN, VICTOR. *Les Fastes historiques du vieux Montréal; the historical records of old Montreal*. Montréal: Les Editions des Dix. 1944. Pp. 135. A careful bi-lingual guide to the marked historical sites of Montreal, containing a statement of the history of the marking of these sites, and of the present condition of the markers.

100th anniversary of St. Stephen's Church, Buckingham, Quebec, 1845-1945 (Montreal churchman, XXXIII (7), July, 1945; XXXIII (8), Aug., 1945, 9-12). A brief historical account of one hundred years of the Church of England in Buckingham.

DE LA RUE, E. AUBERT. *Saint-Pierre et Miquelon*. (Collection "France Forever.") Montréal: Editions de L'Arbre. 1944. Pp. 261. A general survey of the geology, climate, vegetation, fauna, and of the history and present social and economic conditions of the little known islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, those remnants of the one-time French Empire in North America. The book has a valuable bibliography, and is well illustrated.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *Aux Sources de l'industrie Américaine: Les vieilles forges*. (Les Cahiers Reflets, I (3).) Beauceville, P.Q.: Cir de l'Eclaireur. 1945. Pp. 35. A sketch of the development of the village iron works in Quebec from their beginnings in the time of Talon to their decline and practical extinction in the nineteenth century.

WOODLEY, E. C. *Empire study—Quebec: The province, past and present* (Echoes, no. 179, summer, 1945, 8-9, 13, 26).

(3) The Province of Ontario

ANDERSON, KENNETH. *Story of the Ontario Parliament Building* (Canadian school journal, XXIII (6), June, 1945, 234, 256). Some notes on the construction and the architectural design of Ontario's old and new parliament buildings.

Chapter on Chatham (Hydro news, XXXII (6), June, 1945, 7-10, 13). Notes on the development of Chatham, Ontario.

EDGAR, ROBERT H. *Plans under way to restore old-time Niagara* (Saturday night, LX (35), May 5, 1945, 4). "In the long range view it is ultimately hoped to remodel Niagara into the 'Williamsburg' of Canada, as a seat of cultural and historical value unique in the Dominion."

GUILLET, EDWIN C. *The town of Cobourg, 1798-1945* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (6), June, 1945, 288-98). A sketch of the origins of Cobourg and some notes on its political, cultural, and social history up to the present day.

JANZEN, J. H. *Die Geschichte der Grafschaft Ebenfeld*. ("The Story of Plainfield County.") Vols. III and IV. Waterloo: privately mimeographed. 1944. Pp. 192; 194.

Limestone city (Hydro news, XXXII (5), May, 1945, 8-10). Notes on the development of Kingston.

McFALL, W. A. *The life and times of Dr. Christopher Widmer*. (Reprinted from *Annals of Medical History*, July, 1942.) [1945.] Pp. 22. A short biography of Dr. Widmer—a brilliant surgeon and a prominent citizen of early Toronto.

— *Relation of wars of Europe to the place names of Ontario*. Privately produced. [1945.] Pp. 7. Many of the names of Ontario's cities, towns, streets, rivers, and lakes were named after famous European battles or generals.

QUAIFE, M. M. *Lake Michigan*. (The American Lakes series, ed. by M. M. Quaife.) Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1944. Pp. 384. To be reviewed later.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

The Battleford Light Infantry. (Canadian military journal, XIII (4), July, 1945, 15, 17). The Battleford Infantry Company (now the Battleford Light Infantry) was organized in 1879 because of the restlessness of a large section of the Indian population, served in the rebellion of 1885, and in the present war it is estimated that this militia unit has contributed more than a thousand officers and men to the various branches of the active service.

BRYDEN, W. K. *Recent social legislation in Saskatchewan* (Public affairs, VIII (2), winter, 1945, 115-18). A description of the social legislation of the new Saskatchewan government in the fields of farm security, labour legislation, health service, recreation, and education.

CAMPBELL, B. R. *Kamloops post office has operated 75 years* (Kamloops sentinel, May 2, 1945, 14-15). An account of the early history of the Kamloops district.

FOWKE, V. C. *The distributive pattern in the Prairie Provinces* (Commerce journal, new series, no. 5, May, 1945, 64-80). The purpose of the article is "to consider the underlying uniformity between the fur trade and the wheat trade, to consider both trades as they have affected the distributive pattern in the Prairie Provinces, and to consider, accordingly, the Hudson's Bay and other fur-trading companies as essentially a part of the prairie distributive pattern."

KENNEDY, Mrs. HECTOR. *Empire study—a short historical sketch of Alberta* (Echoes, no. 178, spring, 1945, 14, 25).

PETERS, GRAHAM. *Alberta surveys the future* (Canadian business, May, 1945, XVIII (5), 38-9, 140). The Alberta Post-War Reconstruction Committee is conducting a province wide survey of the same nature as the pioneer efforts of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Kitchener-Waterloo Boards of Trade early in 1944.

Saskatchewan Recreation. Vol. I, no. 1, spring, 1945. Regina: Saskatchewan Recreational Movement, 12 Canada Life Building. 1945. Pp. 48. This is the first issue of what is presumably to be a quarterly publication devoted to the activities of the Saskatchewan Recreational Movement, which is sponsored by the provincial government of Saskatchewan through the Department of Public Health.

SHUMIATCHER, MORRIS C. *Socialism and social welfare in Saskatchewan* (Canadian forum, XXV (293), June, 1945, 60-2). An assessment of the results of the second session of the CCF legislature in Saskatchewan.

(5) British Columbia and the North-West Coast

DEE, HENRY DRUMMOND (ed.). *The journal of John Work, 1835: Being an account of his voyage northward from the Columbia River to Fort Simpson and return in the brig Lama, January-October, 1835*. Part IV (British Columbia historical quarterly, IX (1), Jan., 1945, 49-69). The fourth part of this narrative drawn from the journals of the Provincial Archives at Victoria, British Columbia. To be concluded.

DRAPER, W. N. *Some early roads and trails in New Westminster district* (British Columbia historical quarterly, IX (1), Jan., 1945, 25-35). Some notes on the history of some of the early roads in the New Westminster district. Military needs were the chief consideration when the first roads were being opened.

KINGSTON, C. S. *Juan de Fuca Strait: Origin of the name* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXVI (2), April, 1945, 155-66). The Strait gets its name from an old Greek sailor of the sixteenth century who claimed to have discovered the long-sought Northwest Passage; the background of his claim is investigated in this article.

SAGE, WALTER N. *British Columbia becomes Canadian* (Queen's quarterly, LII (2), summer, 1945, 168-83). A study of the growth of Canadianism in British Columbia.

Vancouver, City Archives. *Remembrance Day, 1944: Service of the armed forces and citizens, Vancouver, Canada*. Vancouver. 1944. Pp. 14. This little pamphlet, printed for the Remembrance Day services, November 11, 1944, held at the Cenotaph, Victory Square, Vancouver, contains the address given by R. Rowe Holland, and a history of events on the site of Victory Square by J. S. Matthews, City Archivist.

Walter Moberly's report on the roads of British Columbia, 1863. With an introduction by WALTER N. SAGE (British Columbia historical quarterly, IX (1), Jan., 1945, 37-47). Walter Moberly, a distinguished railway engineer, superintended the work of completing the Cariboo Road from Cook's Ferry to Clinton in 1863. It was in December of this year that he sent this report of the roads of British Columbia to Sandford Fleming.

(6) North-West Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

ANDREWS, CLARENCE L. *Wm T. Lopp* (Alaska life, VII (8), 1944, 49-54). In 1890 William T. Lopp was sent by the Bureau of Education to establish a mission school at Cape Prince of Wales, Bering Strait. This is an account of his work among the Eskimos.

Arctic survey. III. *A Mackenzie domesday, 1944* by GRIFFITH TAYLOR (C.J.E.P.S., XI (2), May, 1945, 189-233). IV. *A Yukon domesday, 1944* by GRIFFITH TAYLOR. V. *Transportation in the Canadian north* by H. W. HEWETSON (C.J.E.P.S., XI (3), Aug., 1945, 432-66). These are three more papers in the preliminary survey of the Arctic undertaken by the grants-in-aid committee of the Canadian Social Science Research Council with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. Numbers 1 and 2 of the survey were published in the February, 1945, C.J.E.P.S.

BRANDT, HERBERT. *Alaska bird trails: Adventures of an expedition by dog sled to the delta of the Yukon River at Hooper Bay*. Cleveland: Bird Research Foundation. 1943. Pp. xviii, 464. (\$10.00)

Canada, Dept. of Mines and Resources. *A day in the Arctic* by J. D. BATEMAN. (Geological Survey bulletins, no. 1.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. vi, 9. (10c.) A trip was made by aircraft on August 18, 1944, over an area, largely unexplored, lying between Great Bear Lake and Darnley Bay on the Arctic Coast. The purpose of the trip was to obtain information on the position of the western boundary of the Precambrian rocks of the Canadian Shield, and on the general character of a region about which little is known.

HARRIS, EDWARD A. *Canol, the war's epic blunder* (The Nation, CLX (18), May 5, 1945, 513-14). The Canol (Canadian oil) project in Alaska was "ill conceived and ill executed." Its futility is "all the more deplorable in view of the rich possibilities in the full development of Alaska and the Canadian Northwest."

HEWETSON, H. W. *The future of Canada's north country* (Public affairs, VIII (2), winter, 1945, 73-9). A discussion of the possibilities of the Canadian north.

TWOMEY, ARTHUR C. *In collaboration with NEGEL HERRICK. Needle to the north*. London: Jenkins. 1944. (25s.) An account of an exploring expedition to Labrador in 1938.

(7) Newfoundland

LACEY, A. *The case for Confederation* (Atlantic guardian, I (4), Apr., 1945, 26-7, 30). Believes that Newfoundland should seek responsible government in local affairs as a province of Canada.

— *The confederation question—its historical background* (Atlantic guardian, I (3), March, 1945, 5-7). A sketch of the various abortive attempts at union between Canada and Newfoundland.

Newfoundland's political status looms as major postwar problem (Financial post, XXXIX (22), June 2, 1945, 15).

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

BROWN, EDWARD K., MARTIN, PAUL, and SCOTT, FRANK. *Which way Canada?* (University of Chicago Round Table, radio discussion, no. 362, Feb. 25, 1945). Chicago: University of Chicago Round Table. 1945. Pp. 18. (10c.) A radio discussion of political, economic, and social trends in Canada.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eighth census of Canada, 1941*. Vol. II. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. xxvi, 938. (\$2.00)

Community centres in Canada. (Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Feb., 1945.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 16.

SHIRRAS, G. F. *The public finance and national economy of Canada* (in Federal Finance in Peace and War: With special reference to the United States of America and the British Commonwealth, by the same author, London, 1944, pp. 70-102).

WHITTON, CHARLOTTE E. *The approach to welfare security in Canada: The new British White Papers on welfare security and their implications in this Dominion*. (Delivered before the Life Insurance Institute of Canada, November 14, 1944.) Ottawa: The author, 236 Rideau Terrace. [1944.] Pp. 27. (10c.)

(2) Agriculture

HUTTON, F. V. *Farming down north* (Country guide, Jan., 1945, 6, 31-2). How people live and what they grow in the Mackenzie River basin.

ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Land use possibilities in the Mackenzie District* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXI (1), July, 1945, 30-47.) The author concludes that "the Mackenzie Valley has certain favourable geographic conditions which will support limited general farming, an expanded horticultural industry, and adequate forest reserves."

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

The Canadian Arab. Vol. I, no. 1. Montreal: Windsor Hotel. 1945. Pp. 21. This volume marks the first appearance of a new bi-lingual journal which proposes in its sub-title to be, "A link of friendship between Canada and the Arab world." The "Arab world" has always been one of the crossroads of mankind, and hence in the centre of world affairs. Recent events in Syria, Egypt, and Palestine have re-emphasized the validity of that statement with respect to the post-war situation. Canadian Arabs have long felt that the Arab point of view concerning the great events which are stirring the Arab world has often been slighted, ignored, and even mis-stated in the Canadian press, whereas views hostile to the Arabs have been given undue prominence. It is for this reason that a group of Canadian Arabs in Montreal decided to start the publication of a journal which would clearly present the Arab outlook. In this first number the outstanding articles are: "A Britisher Looks at Palestine" by A. E. PRINCE; "Political Zionism is a Threat to Future Peace" by F. S. MALOUF; "The Arab Claim to Palestine" by PHILIP K. HITT. This journal is a monthly publication, and is printed by the Canadian Arab News Service, sponsored by M. S. Massoud, Montreal. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

- EVANS, ALLEN R. *Lets give away a million miles* (National home monthly, XLVI (4), Apr., 1945, 10-11, 32-6). The author suggests donating a million square miles of the Canadian North to Finland. He discusses the mutual advantages that would accrue, and the possible means of financing the Finnish immigration.
- FUGÈRE, JEAN-PAUL. *Le fait néo-Canadien dans la vie montréalaise et dans la vie canadienne* (L'Action nationale, XXV (5), mai, 1945, 354-66; XXV (6), juin, 1945, 445-58).
- LAPLANTE, RODOLPHE. *Les traits franco-canadiens* (L'Action nationale, XXV (4), avril, 1945, 257-66). An explanation of the "caractères dominants du type canadien-français."
- LA VIOLETTE, FORREST E. *Social psychological characteristics of evacuated Japanese* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (3), Aug., 1945, 420-31). A discussion of the reaction of the Japanese in Canada to the handling by the Canadian authorities, of the problem of the Japanese in British Columbia since Pearl Harbour.
- METHODIUS, Brother S. (ed.). *Canadians on the march*. Yorkton, Sask.: Ukrainian Canadian Cultural Group, Box 743. 1944. Pp. 52.
- NELSON, HELGE. *The Swedes and the Swedish settlements in North America*, 2 vols. (Kungl. Humanis Tiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Publications, XXXVII). Lund, Sweden, C. W. K. Gleerup [New York: Albert Bonnier]. 1943. Pp. 441, 73. (\$35.00)
- NORMAN, HOWARD and the Vancouver Consultative Council for Co-operation in War-time Problems of Canadian Citizenship. *What about the Japanese Canadians?* Vancouver: Room 813, Dominion Bank Building [Toronto: United Church Publishing House]. 1945. Pp. 32. (10c.) This pamphlet is written in question and answer form, the questions being the ones often asked by those who have misgivings about the Japanese "problem." The author argues earnestly for removal of discriminatory treatment and legislation against the Japanese-Canadian minority.
- ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *The Jews of Canada* (Jewish review, II (2-3), July-Oct., 1944, 127-40). A survey which is statistical rather than sociological in character.
- (4) Geography**
- BROUILLETTE, BENOÎT. *Varennes, monographie géographique*. Montréal: Éditions Beauchemin. 1944. Pp. 58. (75c.)
- TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Géographie économique du Canada*. (Collection Radio-Collège.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1944. Pp. 278. (\$1.50) A collection of radio talks on various aspects of the economic geography of Canada, designed as part of a programme of adult education.
- TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Towns and townships in southern Ontario* (Economic geography, XXI (2), Apr., 1945, 88-96). Describes the procedure followed in surveying the first townships and roads in southern Ontario and discusses the development of towns from the point of view of town-planning with special reference to Whitby, Galt, Goderich, and Stratford.
- *Town patterns on the Gulf of Saint Lawrence* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (6), June, 1945, 254-75). A study and classification of a number of typical settlements around the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Dr. Taylor concludes that "French influences are dominant, but some towns are progressing while others are stagnant."
- (5) Transportation and Communication**
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Romance of the Alaska highway*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 235. (\$4.00)
- GRIERSON, JOHN. *The Arctic air route* (Flight, Sept. 14, 1944, 288-92). Review of exploratory work on the great circle route from Europe to Canada before 1939.

LANKS, HERBERT C. *Highway to Alaska*. New York: Appleton-Century. 1944. Pp. 200. (\$5.00)

(6) Science

DANSEREAU, PIERRE. *Science in French Canada*. I. *Intellectual traditions*. II. *Scientific endeavor* (Scientific monthly, LIX, Sept., 1944, 188-94; Oct., 1944, 261-72).

LORTIE, LÉON. *Early Canadian chemistry* (Canadian chemistry and process industries, XXIX (5), May, 1945, 312-14, 389). A sketch of the history of Canadian chemistry.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Nos premiers Ballons dirigeables* (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 198-200).

ROUTLEY, T. C. *Volume one, number one, of the Canadian Medical Association Journal* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 10-16). Reminiscences of the first issue of the Journal, January 1, 1911.

SCARLETT, E. P. *Tenth anniversary of the Bulletin: Retrospect and dedication* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 1-4). With the May, 1945, issue the *Bulletin* embarks upon its tenth year of publication.

SEABORN, EDWIN. *Doctor Thomas Patrick: A pioneer Saskatchewan doctor* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 83-8). Dr. Patrick obtained his medical degree from Western University in 1888, and he began to practise in Canada in 1889 in what is now Saskatchewan, where he remained for forty-six years.

SHAW, A. NORMAN. *Professor Herschel Edward Reilley, M.Sc., 1879-1945* (McGill news, XXVI (4), summer, 1945, 25-6, 62). A tribute to the popular Professor of Physics at McGill University.

STANLEY, G. D. *Medical pioneering in Alberta* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 74-8). The author reviews the articles he has written or edited during the past ten years concerning the self-sacrificing efforts of a selected group of pioneer physicians in Alberta. Listing of these and other articles in the *Bulletin* was given in the C.H.R., June, 1945, pages 217-18.

Unforgettable incidents in pioneer practice (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, IX (3, 4), Nov., 1944, 54-6; Feb., 1945, 76-8).

THOMSON, W. A. *Incidents in early practice in the West* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 79-82). Recalls incidents of his first days of practice as a doctor in Douglas, Brandon district, Manitoba, in the eighteen-nineties.

V II. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BOYLE, ROLLAND. *Les Minorités catholiques du Québec* (Relations, V (no. 49), janv., 1945, 6-7). The seventh in the series, "Perspectives scolaires"; see listing of Mr. Léry's articles below.

FEE, NORMAN. *Knox Presbyterian Church centenary: A history of the congregation*. Ottawa: Mortimer Limited. 1944. Pp. 79. To be reviewed later.

F RÉGAULT, GUY. *L'Enseignement de l'histoire* (L'Action universitaire, XI (9), mai, 1945, 18-21). A discussion of the methods of teaching history.

JEANNERET, MARSH. *Test-book illustration in Canada* (Canadian art, II (4), Apr.-May, 1945, 166-9). A review of the part that the creative artist is playing in the revolution currently taking place in the design of Canadian text-books.

LÉRY, LOUIS C. DE. *Période d'organisation (1876-1910)* (Relations, IV (no. 45), sept., 1944, 234-6); *Période de rendement (1910-1944)* (Relations, IV (no. 47), nov. 1944, 283-6). The fifth and sixth articles in the series "Perspectives scolaires"; the first was by the Abbé Lionel Groulx, the second and third by Paul Desjardins, and the fourth by Mr. Léry (C.H.R., XXV, 1944, 231 and 466).

MURRAY, ELSIE. *Local history for your school* (The School, secondary edition, Jan., 1945, 447-50). Some suggested programmes for group work.

National Conference of Canadian Universities. *Report on post-war problems*. (Adopted at the meeting held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont., June 13, 1944.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1944. Pp. 72. An analysis of the post-war problems of Canadian universities, with suggestions for their solution.

NOSEWORTHY, J. W. *A program for education* (in Planning for freedom, Ontario CCF, 1944, 125-36).

ROBBINS, J. E. *International planning for education*. Ottawa: Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, 166 Marlborough Avenue. 1944. Pp. 20. (Free of charge.)

Rural Section of the Ontario School Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association, Ontario Educational Association. *Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Education* (Canadian school journal, XXIII (6), June, 1945, 245-8). An outline of what rural schools need to enable them to be most effective in "educating for rural living."

SIDELEAU, ARTHUR. *Notre Faculté des Lettres (Sa mission, ses méthodes)* (L'Action universitaire, XI (7, 8), mars, 1945, 16-20; avril, 1945, 23-7). The purpose and methods of teaching of the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Montreal are defined by its Dean.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

EUSTACE, C. J. *The role of religion in Canadian life* (Culture, VI (2), juin, 1945, 147-57). This is an attempt to essay the place of the church in our changing society.

MORISSEAU, HENRI. *Les Oblats dans les chantiers* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (2), avril-juin, 1945, 198-216). Upon the suggestion of Mgr Bourget, an Oblat mission was established at Ottawa, then Bytown, in 1845, as a centre for missionary work among those employed in the lumber-camps of the Ottawa Valley.

MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Le Cap-Santé, ses églises et son trésor*. (Collection Champlain.) Québec: Medium Press. 1944. Pp. 69. (75c.)

Oblate Missions. Nos. 1-4. (Annual publication of the Missionary Association of Mary Immaculate.) Edited by A. W. HALL. Ottawa: St. Patrick's College. 1941-4. Pp. 88; 88; 88; 79. This annual publication has just come to our notice, and articles of interest to Canadian history are listed below in blanket form. Articles to be noted are: "The Oblates in Canada" by A. GILLIS (no. 1, 1941, 10-11); "Our Indian Missions in British Columbia" by S. BOWERS (no. 1, 1941, 33-41); "Winter Missionary Expedition in the Cariboo" by J. HENNESSY (no. 1, 1941, 51-7); "The Oblats in Oregon and B.C." by T. P. MURPHY (no. 3, 1943, 11-17); "Patriotism" by A. W. HALL (no. 3, 1943, 25-7); "The Oblats in Oregon and British Columbia" by T. P. MURPHY (no. 4, 1944, 11-19); "Indian War of 1818, William Lake" by M. THOMAS (no. 4, 1944, 20-1); "Vignettes of the North" by L. CONLON (no. 4, 1944, 33-6); "Bytown and the Oblats" by SWITHIN BOWERS (no. 4, 1944, 37-41); "Irish Influence in the Making of Canada" by F. E. BANIM (no. 4, 1944, 43-5).

OLIPHANT, J. ORIN. *A project for a Christian mission on the Northwest Coast of America, 1798* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXVI (2), April, 1945, 99-114). Baron von Schirnding, German patron of various missionary enterprises, in 1798 proposed to the London Missionary Society that they should establish missions both in the Sandwich Islands and on the north-west Coast of America, to form a link with the Society's recently established mission at Otaheite in the South Pacific.

SEMCHUK, STEPAN. *Korotka Istoriya Nashoyi Tserkvy*. ("Short history of our church.") Yorkton, Sask.: Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada. 1944. Pp. 40. In Ukrainian.

TESSIER, ALBERT, and BIRON, HERVÉ. *Vers les pays d'En-Haut*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1944. Pp. 246. (\$1.00) A moving, popular history of the Sœurs Grises (Grey Sisters) in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, published in commemoration of their first establishment in that region. The importance of such a history is indicated in the opening paragraph of the book, which I quote: "The four Sœurs Grises who set out for the Red River at the end of April, 1844, were opening a new page in the religious history of America. Until then, only monks and priests had had the apostolic audacity to plunge into the heart of the continent in search of souls lost in the immensity of America. This was the first time that women from amongst us quit their convent to give themselves to missionary work." The book is illustrated with twelve full-page black-and-white inspirational drawings by Henri Beaulac. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

VALIGNY, PACIFIQUE DE. *Chroniques des plus anciennes églises de l'Acadie: Bathurst, Pabos et Ristigouche, Rivière Saint-Jean, Memramcook*. Montréal: Echo de Saint-François, la Réparation, Pointe-aux-Trembles. 1944. Pp. 147.

X., A. *La Chapelle des matelots à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 135-8). Presents the arguments for and against the existence of this chapel as an historic fact.

IX. GENEALOGY

FAIRCHILD, T. M. (compiler), assisted by SARAH E. FILTER. *The name and family of Fairchild*. Iowa City: Mercer Printing Co. 1944. Pp. 278. This is an enlarged version of the most exhaustive genealogy of the Fairchild family in the United States and Canada published in 1939. The Canadian section of the work covers 132 pages. The author has used a great variety of sources, original and otherwise, and there can be little left to add to the record. The history of the Fairchild family supplies many illustrations of the movement of peoples back and forth across the boundary between the United States and Canada and to the west. [J. J. TALMAN]

Le Maître d'école Malherbe (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 206-7). Notes on the school-master, François Malherbe, who taught in various rural schools in Quebec at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Généalogie de la famille Mondelet* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 51-9). The Mondelet family in Canada was descended from Dominique Mondelet, who came to Quebec in 1755 with General Dieskau, as an assistant surgeon with one of the regiments.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Au Sujet des premiers seigneurs de Chambly* (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 209). An addition to the article in the March issue on the first seigneurs of Chambly.

— *Le Graveur Wiseman* (B.R.H., LI (4), avril, 1945, 174). A short note on the engraver, James Lovell Wiseman, born in Montreal in 1847.

— *Le Perruquier-contrebandier* (B.R.H., LI (4), avril, 1945, 170-1). Some notes on François Brissonnet, wig-maker by profession, who lived in Montreal between 1701 and 1712.

— *Les premiers Seigneurs de Chambly* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 133-5).

MORISSET, GÉRARD. *L'Orfèvre François Chambellan* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 31-5). A compilation of biographical information about this silversmith who came to Quebec in 1716.

Les Officiers du régiment de Guyenne (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 189-94). Lists the known officers of this regiment, which left Brest in April, 1755, for New France.

ROY, LÉON. *Dictionnaire généalogique, système pratique de consultation rapide* (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 194-8). More information on this genealogical record system which has been set up in the Province of Quebec.

— *Où Mgr Baillargeon est-il né?* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 127-32). Inquiry into the birthplace of Mgr Charles-François Baillargeon, Archbishop of Quebec, born in 1798.

ROY, LÉON. *Practical and genealogical card-index of marriages, births, and deaths at the Quebec Court House* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 77-89).

R[oy], P.-G. *Un Amateur de seigneurie, Gabriel Christie* (B.R.H., LI (4), avril, 1945, 171-3). Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel Christie, of the British forces, bought a number of the seigneuries which were for sale after the Conquest of 1763.

— *La Famille Soumande* (B.R.H., LI (4), avril, 1945, 157-69). The Soumande family in New France was descended from Pierre Soumande, who settled in Quebec about 1646 or 1647.

— *Marcel-Louis de Parfourru* (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 212-13). Notes on this officer in the regiment of Languedoc, who came to Canada in 1755.

— *Le Mariage manqué du Chevalier de Beauharnois* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 139-42).

— *Qui était M. d'Hébécourt?* (B.R.H., LI (3), mars, 1945, 125-7). Identifies M. d'Hébécourt as an officer of the regular French army, who came in 1755 to Canada with General Dieskau's troops, and who was entrusted with the defence of the fort at Carillon.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *La Famille Charly Saint-Ange* (B.R.H., LI (1-2), janv.-fév., 1945, 91-113). An informative study of the family descended from André Charly dit Saint-Ange, who came to Montreal about 1651; an appendix is added to the article by Mr. Walter B. Douglas, on "The Sieurs de St. Ange," of Louisiana, who were not, so it is believed, related to the Canadian Charly Saint-Ange family.

— *Toutes petites Choses du régime français*. Tomes I et II. Québec: Éditions Garneau. 1944. Pp. 304; 304. Two volumes of historical bits—genealogy, events, dates, etc.—relative to the French régime, fascinating to those curious about the minutiae of history. Most of these notes have appeared elsewhere in print and are collected here in book form.

Testament de Mgr Panet, évêque de Québec (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 203-5).

Un Triomphe de François Malherbe (B.R.H., LI (5), mai, 1945, 207-8). Note on the address presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, Sir Robert Shore Milnes, in 1802, by the pupils of François Malherbe, schoolmaster in Rivière-Quelle at that time.

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics (in each issue of C.J.E.P.S.).

BOND, DONALD F. *Anglo-French and Franco-American studies: A current bibliography* (Romanic review, XXXV (3), Oct., 1944, 186-202). The seventh annual survey, covering books, articles, and reviews published in 1943, dealing with Anglo-French and Franco-American culture and literary history from the sixteenth century to the present day.

Canada, Wartime Information Board. *List of Dominion government publications, January-March, 1945*. Ottawa: The Board. 1945. Pp. 20.

Decennial index to the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vols. I-X. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1945. Pp. 64.

POLLARD, LANCASTER. *Pacific northwest bibliography, 1944* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXVI (2), April, 1945, 133-42). The fourth yearly bibliography listing articles on Pacific Northwest history appearing in periodicals during 1944.

La Société des Écrivains canadiens. *Bulletin bibliographique de la Société des Écrivains canadiens, 1944*. Compiled by ANNE-MARIE MORISSET. Montréal: La Société. [1944.] Pp. 112. This is the eighth bulletin of this series and contains bibliographies of Canadian (French) works published in 1944, and of French and foreign works published in Canada during the year.

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

- ADENEY, MARCUS. *Music in post-war Canada* (Canadian forum, XXV (293), June, 1945, 66-7). Believes that if Canadian musicians were united and given a social place and function, they would soon "provide more than a pale reflex of brighter lights elsewhere."
- ALFORD, JOHN. *The development of painting in Canada* (Canadian art, II (3), Mar., 1945, 95-103). A discussion of the exhibition illustrating the development of Canadian painting which was on display in the Art Gallery of Toronto from January to April of 1945.
- AUDET, LOUIS-PHILIPPE. *Le Frère Marie-Victorin, maître littéraire* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 15-28).
- BALLANTYNE, M. G. *Religion and journalism in Canada* (Culture, VI (2), juin, 1945, 162-9). "The outlook of our major publications is increasingly one of hedonistic materialism. . . . No reputable Canadian paper would dream of attacking Christianity, but by writing for the most part as if that Faith did not exist an even more dangerous result is achieved."
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Saintes artisanes*. (Cahiers D'Art Arca, II.) I. *Les Brodeuses*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1943. Pp. 118. Illustrations. A well-documented study of the development of fine embroidery as an art among the nuns of Quebec. A group of excellent illustrations in black and white concludes the volume.
- _____. *Traditional arts of Quebec* (Canadian review of music and art, III (9, 10), 1944, 23-5).
- BARBEAU, VICTOR. *La Société des Écrivains canadiens; Règlements, action; Bibliographie de ses membres*. Montréal: La Société. 1944. Pp. 119. (\$1.00)
- BRIDGEN, F. H. *Canadian landscape as pictured by F. H. Bridgen, R.C.A., O.S.A.* Biographical notes by J. E. MIDDLETON. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. 111. (\$5.00) This book is made up largely of colour reproductions of paintings in water colour by F. H. Bridgen, R.C.A. Many will be familiar with the plates, as they have often served as illustrations in the calendars put out by the firm of photo-engravers of this same name in Toronto. The accompanying biographical study of Bridgen by J. E. Middleton is of little historical interest except in so far as it depicts how for several generations the business of engraving and commercial illustration was all too closely linked with painting as a profession in Canada. In other words, it was for a long time one of the few ways in which native artists could earn a living. Bridgen, by the way, went sketching along the north shore of Lake Superior, a full fifteen years before Lawren Harris and other members of the Group of Seven arrived there. The impact of northern landscape, however, had little or no effect on his style. His paintings throughout his career have remained consistently placid. [DONALD W. BUCHANAN]
- BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Exhibition of Canadian war art* (Canadian art, II (4), Apr.-May, 1945, 140-6). An estimation of the worth of the Exhibition of Canadian War Art which is now touring Canada.
- Can Canada support the arts?* (Canadian review of music and art, III (11,12), 1945, 15-18, 20). Extracts from a discussion of this question in the CBC Citizen's Forum series "Of Things To Come."
- CUSSON, PHILIPPE [FRANÇOIS CRUSSON, pseud.]. *Légendes laurentiennes; Légendes adaptées et suivies d'une nouvelle historique* [Louis Auger] du même auteur. Montréal: Éditions du l'Agence Duvernay. 1943. Pp. 158. A beautifully-printed volume of French-Canadian legends, with one new historical tale written by the editor. An increasing interest in their own folklore is another sign of cultural self-consciousness in French Canada. As Roger Duhamel says in the foreword, "In learning to look at the past, you [the French Canadians] will feel yourselves the legates of a tradition, the sons of those who came and who remained." [R. M. SAUNDERS]

- DILWORTH, IRA. *Emily Carr* (Canadian art, II (3), Mar., 1945, 115-19).
- DUMAS, PAUL. *Lyman*. (Collection art vivant, IV.) Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. 1944. Pp. 31. (80c.) A study of the career of the artist, John Lyman, which contains also a brief review of the history of painting in Canada.
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Canadians and Canadian books* (Queen's quarterly, LII (2), summer, 1945, 208-13). "There has never before been a period quite like this in the history of Canadian literature." "If the present sale of Canadian books and the present interest in Canadian letters continue for a few years, our cultural life will feel the results."
- GAGNON, MAURICE. *Peinture canadienne*. Montréal: Éditions Pascal. 1945. Pp. 160.
- GARD, ROBERT E. *The humorous tradition in Alberta* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (1), May, 1945, 92-7).
- In memoriam: William John Alexander. I. Memoir by M. W. WALLACE. II. *Critic and teacher* by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE (University of Toronto quarterly, XIV (1), Oct., 1944, 1-33). Tribute to the work of Professor Alexander as head of the Department of English, University College, University of Toronto, 1889-1926, "during the whole of which period he was the universally recognized leader in shaping the ideals of English teaching in Ontario both in the universities and secondary schools." A check-list of his writings, compiled by the University of Toronto Library, is appended to the article.
- KELLY, DONALD G. *Once upon-a-time there was a Canadian theatre* (Canadians all, III (1), spring, 1945, 28, 48, 60). The story of the University College Players' Guild of the University of Toronto—a bright spot in the present sorrowful picture of the Canadian stage.
- LACOURCIÈRE, LUC. *Les Études de folklore français au Canada* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 3-9). An address given at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in New York, December 27, 1944.
- LAURENT, ÉDOUARD. *Réflexions sur le théâtre* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 39-54). Dramatic art in French Canada has made great strides in the last twelve or fifteen years. The two men most responsible for this upsurge are Claude-Henri Grignon and Gratien Gélinas.
- LÉGARÉ, ROMAIN. *Le Roman canadien-français d'aujourd'hui* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 55-75). A survey of recent French-Canadian novels.
- MAINER, R. HENRY. *Canadian war fiction* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 10-14). Deplores the complete absence in Canada of fiction dealing with the deeper issues of the war.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *La Vie et l'œuvre du Frère Luc*. (Collection Champlain.) Québec: Medium Press. 1944. Pp. 143. (\$2.00) Frère Luc, a relatively-unknown French Récollet painter of the seventeenth century, is important in the cultural history of Canada. The thirty or so paintings which he did during the year and a half (1670-71) which he spent in Quebec mark the beginnings of painting in New France. This brief biographical study has a valuable bibliography, and annotated catalogue of Frère Luc's paintings. The illustrations are rather poorly reproduced. [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- PHELPS, ARTHUR L. *Action for the arts* (Canadian review of music and art, III (9, 10), 1944, 7-8). A plea for a National Arts Board for Canada.
- RADDALL, THOMAS. *Roger Sudden*. New York: Doubleday, Doran [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1944. Pp. viii, 358. (\$3.00) A novel which tells the story of the founding of Halifax.

- SAVARD, FÉLIX-ANTOINE. *Menaud, maître-draveur*. (Collection du Nénuphar.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1944; first printed 1937. Pp. 153. (\$1.25) A fine new edition of a novel which has come to rank with Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* and Ringuet's *Trente Arpents* in the minds of a great many French Canadians as a French-Canadian classic.
- SWANSON, JEAN. *Art in Saskatchewan* (Canadian art, II (3), Mar., 1945, 120-4).
- TONNANCOUR, J. G. DE. *Roberts*. (Collection art vivant, no. 3.) Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. 1944. Pp. 32. (80c.) A study of the Canadian artist, Goodridge Roberts.
- Toronto Public Library Board. *Reading in Toronto, 1944: Being the sixty-first annual report of the Toronto Public Library Board for the year 1944*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 54.
- TRUDEL, MARCEL. *La Littérature canadienne et la religion* (Culture, VI (2), juin, 1945, 158-61). A discussion of the influence of Voltaire on Canadian literature.
- VAN ROOKE, ED. *300 years of Canadian painting* (Canadians all, III (1), spring, 1945, 24-5, 60-2).
- VAUGHAN, NORA E. *Handicrafts in Canada* (Food for thought, V (5), Feb., 1945, 12-17).
- WHITE, SAMUEL ALEXANDER. *Called northwest*. New York: Phoenix Press. 1943. Pp. 256. (\$2.00) An adventure story of romanticized fact and fiction based on the background of the Rebellion of 1885.
- Wilson Library Bulletin*, special Canadian number, XIX (3), November, 1944. This special Canadian number has short biographical articles on Emily Carr, Bruce Hutchison, and Evelyn Eaton. Among the many other interesting articles that it contains are "The Canadian Scene" by MARGARET S. GILL, "The Larger Public Libraries in Canada" by FRED A. WALDON, "Across the Dominion with the Boys and Girls" by LOUISE RILEY, "The House that Jack May Build: Canadian University Libraries and Postwar Rehabilitation" by ANNE M. SMITH, articles on school libraries, Dominion government libraries, regional libraries, and special libraries, "Library Training in Canada" by ALEXANDER CALHOUN, and "Library Trends in Canada" by ELEANOR BARTEAU.
- WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. (ed.). *Letters in Canada: 1944* (University of Toronto quarterly, XIV (3), April, 1945, 261-328). The *Quarterly's* tenth critical survey of Canadian literature during the current year is presented under five main divisions: "Poetry" (English-Canadian) by E. K. BROWN; "Fiction" (English-Canadian) by J. R. MACGILLIVRAY; "French-Canadian Letters" by W. E. COLLIN; "New-Canadian Letters" by WATSON KIRKCONNELL; and "Remaining Material" by the editor and others.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

In 1947 the Canadian Historical Association will have completed its first quarter century. The Association was founded in 1922 to provide a focus of historical interest and studies in Canada, and has most successfully fulfilled its functions.

So far the Canadian Historical Association has been carried on purely by voluntary effort and at considerable sacrifice on the part of those interested. It is now felt that if its work is to continue to be effective there should be a change of policy. The suggestion has been made that the annual publications received by members, the Annual Report and the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, should be revised and expanded. Possibly the Report should be amalgamated with the REVIEW which would thereby be considerably enlarged. So far the editorial work on the Report has been done by two or three self-sacrificing professors. It has become an ever increasing burden and should in our opinion be placed on a semi-professional basis. Secretarial and stenographic services should be supplied. The University of Toronto has been most generous in its support, and there is no reason to suppose that that policy will change; but it does seem to be somewhat unfair that a national association should share its burdens with one Canadian university. It is improbable, in any case, that the University of Toronto would wish to become responsible for a programme of expansion.

In addition to its publications, there are several other projects which an association such as this should now be undertaking. By means of prizes and grants-in-aid it should offer encouragement to the younger scholars. It might also provide awards for senior men who have by their researches and publications contributed to the advancement of the study of Canadian history. The annual meetings might be made even more than at present gatherings of historians and lovers of history from all portions of Canada. The expenses of members of Council might in part be paid both for the annual meetings and for the November meeting of Council at which the programme for the next May meeting is drawn up.

At present the Association, though solvent, has never had more than a few dollars in hand. Printing the *Annual Report* is always a financial adventure! If the Association could raise an endowment fund which would yield \$1,000 annually, the financial problem would be solved.

An effort is being made to secure financial assistance for the Association. The most appropriate mode of contribution would appear to take the form of a Life Membership. A contribution of fifty dollars (\$50.00) or more, payable in two or more annual instalments, gives title to a Life Membership. Business and other corporations, including historical societies, schools, colleges, and universities, may become members. If sufficient response is forthcoming, a more general campaign can be undertaken. If the Association can raise a moderate sum from within its own ranks, it is reasonable to believe that certain other individuals and corporations may be prepared to lend assistance. As a historian and a Canadian you could not make a better investment.

MARITIME MUSEUMS AND NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

New Brunswick Museum. The activities of this museum have been considerably curtailed by war conditions. One fourth of its available space has been in

possession of the military authorities, including the main natural history gallery, the large auditorium, and a smaller lecture and demonstration room. Close relationships have been maintained with the Provincial Department of Education and contacts have been established with an ever-growing number of schools and teachers in all parts of the province.

There have been many accessions during recent years, nearly all having been gifts. These have been most numerous in the Department of Canadian History. The exhibits in the Webster Pictorial Canadiana Collection, the largest of its kind with the possible exception of that in the Public Archives of Canada, now number well over five thousand. The Webster Canadiana Library has also greatly increased and is now much used by research-workers. Similarly, the Department of Arts and Crafts, established by Mrs. Clarence Webster, has grown greatly and has added to the cultural resources of the province. The work of its Curator, Miss Edith Hudson, during the last three years, cannot be too highly praised. Indeed it has been of such fine quality that she has been offered and has accepted an invitation to fill an important position in the Newark Museum, New Jersey; it will be very difficult to fill this vacancy from Canadian sources. The Curatorship of Canadian History has been vacant also for most of the war years and the work has been directed by Dr. J. C. Webster, ably assisted by Miss Margaret Evans, Librarian. Her duties have included the arranging and classifying of the extensive collection of Canadiana, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., bequeathed to the Museum by the late Dr. W. F. Ganong. This task has been carried out with great care, and the collection will soon be available for students.

The greatest need of the Museum is increased endowment. The top floor is almost entirely unfinished and its space is greatly needed for the display of many stored exhibits.

The Science Curator, Mr. W. F. Squires, has been working on a history of the Museum for nearly a year and hopes to publish it in the very near future. He has traced the successive stages of development since the year 1842, when the Gesner Museum was opened in Saint John, the first in all Canada to be officially designated a Museum for the public, for which a printed catalogue was issued and an admission fee charged. To this nucleus have been added, during the past hundred years, a series of notable collections, historical and scientific, contributions of able and devoted workers, culminating in the present New Brunswick Museum, which has taken high rank among the leading museums of Canada.

Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, and Port Royal Habitation. Few changes have taken place in the National Historic Park of Fort Anne during the war. The Fort and Museum have not lost their old charm and continue to attract many visitors. The famous replica of the habitation of the first French settlers, recently built by the Dominion government on the original Port Royal site (now Lower Granville, a few miles east of Annapolis Royal) is becoming more widely known to the public in spite of the lack of ready means of access. Its historical significance is very great and establishes it as one of the most important memorials in North America. During the war period, furnishings (early seventeenth century) have been made by prisoners of war and have been placed in the habitation. The chapel is as yet unfinished, but it is hoped that the French government will carry out the promise made by that country early in the war, viz., to make a gift of suitable fittings and furnishings from surplus stocks in various French museums.

Fort Beauséjour-Cumberland. After the establishment of a National Historic Park in the important Chignecto area, it was decided to build a Museum within

the fort, its development being entrusted to Dr. J. C. Webster, Honorary Curator. He planned to limit the scope of its interests to the Counties of Westmorland, Albert, and Cumberland, so intimately associated historically with Chignecto since the seventeenth century, and made many visits among the people to enlist their support. Their response was immediate and generous, and when the Museum was opened in 1936 there was a very great interest in the collection of exhibits. These increased so rapidly during the following two years that additional space was needed. This was provided by the addition of a wing by the Dominion government, opened in 1939. A much needed room for a library was at the same time provided, thus adding to the usefulness of the Museum. The increase of gifts continued and, again, there is so much over-crowding that the authorities have decided to add another wing. The exhibits, consisting of pictures, portraits, maps, plans, books, manuscripts, weapons, household articles, etc., relate to all phases of the country's development, both civil and military, and to the various peoples who have occupied it, e.g., Indians, French-Acadians, pre-Loyalists from the American Colonies, Yorkshire settlers, Loyalists, and later settlers. These people have long since been rooted in the soil, proud of their traditions and of the part they have played in the upbuilding of the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that they have rallied to the support of the Museum and have given freely of their treasures to make it a success. Many of their kinsfolk, living in distant parts, have also made interesting and valuable gifts.

As an attraction for tourists, the Fort and Museum have proved to be most important. At the outbreak of war, it had more visitors than any point in Canada east of Quebec City. One reason for this is its nearness to the main route of travel between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, whether by train, bus, or motor-car.

Louisbourg. Here conditions are very different from those found at Beauséjour. The old fortress is in an isolated position, far from the main routes of travel. There is no surrounding population with associations in any way related to its history. The nearest small town (named "Louisburg") is quite modern, and even distant Sydney is an alien development. The splendid Museum, erected by the Dominion government and opened in 1937, has been made most attractive by the Honorary Curator, Miss Katherine McLennan, whose father wrote the best work ever published relating to Louisbourg and was a most generous contributor to the Museum. The exhibits amply illustrate the story of the rise and fall of the old fortress.

The war has prevented the continuance of important work within the walls, e.g., the clearing of the streets of the French town, and the demarcation of the foundations of official buildings, the hospital, churches, etc. The work already completed on the site of the original French citadel has been of great help to students and visitors.

Very little has been done to recover treasures from the French ships which were sunk in the harbour in the eighteenth century. This will, doubtless, be undertaken after the completion of land operations. When the plans now under consideration shall have been completed, Nova Scotia will possess the largest and most unique military area, available to students of history, in all North America.

THE ATLAS OF CANADA PROJECT

In 1943 the Canadian Social Science Research Council appointed a Committee to "explore the possibilities of preparation and publication of a comprehensive

Atlas of Canada." The Committee was placed under the chairmanship of Professor Benoit Brouillette, representative member for the Canadian Geographical Committee of the International Geographical Union.

In considering the problem of an atlas, a clear cut distinction should be made between two types: the dictionary type and the geographic one. The first is the more widely known and is made to inform people on the location of countries, places, rivers, topographic features, transportation lines, etc. Some countries or firms have acquired a well-deserved renown in the preparation of such atlases, for instance, Bartholomew in Great Britain, Stieler in Germany, Rand-McNally in the United States, and Vidal de la Blache in France. The other type of atlas is made on a more comprehensively scientific basis. It deals with the physiography of a country or a region, its climate, flora and fauna, its human and economic geography in such a way as to make them understandable to the reader according to the most advanced knowledge in geography. There are good examples of such atlases: the Atlas of Finland (1925-8), the Atlas of the Czechoslovakian Republic (1935), the Great Soviet World Atlas (1938), the Physical and Economic Atlas of Italy (1939), and the best one, the Atlas of France (1933-42).

The Committee has made a study of these various atlases and also a survey of all available maps published or drawn in Canada. In Ottawa alone there are sixteen sources where maps are obtainable. Every province has also been investigated. Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia are the only provinces doing original work in cartography. Canada needs a good modern atlas. Whether it can be made as a truly scientific one or as a more popular publication is the question that the Committee has to investigate. [Benoit Brouillette]

Canadian historians learned with great regret of the death of President Dixon Ryan Fox of Union College, Schenectady, New York, on January 30, 1945. Dr. Fox's historical activities which were varied and of long duration touched Canadian history at many points, in particular his work in connection with the history of the State of New York, and his contributions as editor of the *History of American Life* which is being reviewed in this issue.

An interesting regional public records plan has been proposed for the state of New York. The plan calls for the dividing of the state into ten regions following the already existing political divisions and lines of regional development. From subdivisions within the county, records would be transferred to the county depository which would be the enlarged office of the county clerk, and from there to the regional depositories provided with complete archival facilities and records servicing equipment. This proposed plan is a further development along the already existing lines of New York archival practice.

The Royal Historical Society offers annually the Alexander Prize of a silver medal for an essay on a historical subject selected by the candidate but approved by the Literary Directors of the Society. The essay must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be received on or before February 28, 1946. The prize for 1945 has been awarded to Mrs. Helen Suggett for her essay on "The Use of French in England in the later Middle Ages."

Further information may be obtained from the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10, England.

The following members of University faculties are now employed in Canadian Army historical work overseas: Colonel C. P. Stacey, Princeton; Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. G. Stanley, Mount Allison; Major W. E. C. Harrison, Queen's; Major G. S. Graham, Queen's; Major C. F. Comfort, Toronto; Captain J. R. Martin, Iowa.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

Pamphlets on Current Events

Much useful information and discussion on current events continues to appear in pamphlet form. Recent numbers in the "Behind the Headlines" series published jointly by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, at 10 cents each are: *Labour's Post-War World* by Paul Martin, *Behind Dumbarton Oaks* by W. L. Morton, *Our Diplomats at Work* by Blair Fraser, *One Million More Jobs* by John F. Close, and *On Terms of Peace with Germany* by H. Lukin Robinson.

"Looking Ahead" is a new series of pamphlets prepared by the Wartime Information Board and supplementing the regular "Canadian Affairs" series. They present material for discussion by Canadian servicemen and women. Numbers 1 and 2 are *Home as We'll Find It* and *The Job We've Done*.

Number 43 of the "Canada at War" series is a special pictorial edition on war-changed Canada.

In volume II of the "Canadian Affairs" series the following are the titles of numbers 1-10 which have appeared at two week intervals from January 15, 1945 to July 15, 1945—*British Columbia*, *Where Does Labour Fit In*, *What's Japan to Us*, *Women after the War*, *Dominion Health Parade*, *Bullets and Ballots*, *A Place to Live*, *A Chance for World Security*, *Business and Post-War Jobs*, and *House on the Hill*.

The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol. II, by C. W. Jefferys (Toronto, Ryerson, 1945, pp. xviii, 271, \$2.00). The appearance of Dr. Jefferys's second volume is a notable event. It covers the period from 1763 to about 1830 and contains a wide variety of pictures of events and characters of the times, of houses, churches, vehicles, and many of the forgotten things of pioneer life. It is a most valuable book for schools. A fuller review will appear in the review section of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

C. W. Jefferys by William Colgate (Toronto, Ryerson, n.d., pp. 42, \$1.00) and *The Arts and Crafts of Canada* by O. G. W. McRae (Toronto, Macmillans, 1944, pp. 80, \$2.50). These two books on Canadian art would be useful additions to the school library, and serve to meet the increasing interest in Canadian art. The booklet on Dr. Jefferys is one of Ryerson's "Canadian Art" series. It contains a brief biography of the artist, an appreciative analysis of his work and two full colour, and thirteen black and white, reproductions of his paintings. *The Arts and Crafts of Canada* is very attractively produced on smooth paper with large size pages. It provides a well illustrated survey of British-Canadian and French-Canadian architecture, of contemporary Canadian architecture, and of Canadian painting, sculpture, and crafts.

Canadian Democracy in Action by George W. Brown (Toronto, J. M. Dent, 1945, pp. vi, 122, 60c), *This is Canada* edited by Donald Buchanan (Toronto, Ryerson, 1944), and *A Canadian People* by Lorne Pierce (Toronto, Ryerson, 1945, pp. x, 84, \$1.50). These three little books are about Canada and her people.

Canadian Democracy in Action is a contribution to the better understanding of the aims and principles of democracy in Canada and is designed for use in schools and study groups. *This is Canada* is an attractive collection of sixty photographs of Canadian life—of her people, her industries, her houses, her scenery, her sports, her schools, and her churches. It would be a popular addition to any school library. Mr. Pierce's book will provide teachers with stimulating food for thought. It is an energetic inquiry by a profoundly Canadian Canadian into the possibility of moulding our French and English population into a united nation.

The Discovery of Canada by Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto, Macmillan's, 1944, pp. x, 280, \$3.00). Mr. Burpee's book is a contribution to the romance of Canadian history. He has told in an entertaining style, using personal records as much as possible, the stories of the men who discovered all the reaches of Canada. A useful students' bibliography is included.

Lake Ontario by Arthur Pound (New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1945, pp. 384). This is the fourth volume to be published in the well known "American Lakes" series under the editorship of Dr. Milo M. Quaife. It and its fellow volumes on the other Great Lakes are written by authors who are capable historians as well as entertaining writers, and aim at giving the general reader a comprehensive picture of Canada's great freshwater seas. It is reviewed in this issue.

The Minnesota Historical Society has inaugurated a new series of publications entitled *Pictorial Minnesota*, consisting of sets of illustrations on various topics in state history. The pictures are intended chiefly for school use, as visual aids in the study of state and national history. Two sets, dealing with "The Indians" and with "Pioneer Buildings and Equipment" have been published. Many of the pictures illustrate topics in Canadian as well as in Minnesota history. Examples are representations of Chippewa and Sioux Indian habitations, of the red men hunting buffaloes or gathering wild rice, of the exterior and interior of frontier log cabins, and of pioneer household utensils. The pictures may be purchased from the Minnesota Historical Society for twenty-five cents a set.

Social Education is the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies in the United States, and is published by it in collaboration with the American Historical Association. Many of its articles and its book reviews should prove interesting and helpful to Canadian teachers.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library. The June number of the *Western Ontario Historical Notes* contains articles on "The Detroit River French" by Fred C. Hamil; "The Settlements of Woodslee and South Woodslee, Essex County" by Neil F. Morrison; "Old-Fashioned Wreaths Recall Bygone Days" by Jean H. Waldie; and articles on early Ontario schools by James Goulet and Mrs. E. J. Canfield. Number 5 of *Western Ontario History Nuggets* is "Long Point and Its Lighthouses" and is by J. A. Bannister; number 7 is entitled "Half a Century" and is a reproduction of an interview with the Reverend Archdeacon Mulholland on his retirement from St. George's Church, Owen Sound, that was printed in the *Owen Sound Times*, January, 1893.

The William L. Clements Library has published its Report for 1943 containing a description of its recent acquisitions, and of its publications, exhibitions, and other activities. Its Bulletin no. XLIII entitled *The William L.*

Clements Library: A Brief Description and Bibliographical Record, 1923-1944 contains an interesting description of the Library's origin and subsequent development, a bibliographical record of publications that it sponsors, and a trial checklist of books and essays based wholly or in part on materials in the Clements Library.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Brant Historical Society continues to meet regularly and increased interest is being shown in its activities by the residents of Brantford and the district round about. Its museum, housed in the Brantford Public Library, annually receives many donations. During the past year acquisitions have included Neutral Indian relics, old pictures and photos of the Mohawk Village at Brantford, a case of stuffed Canadian birds, and an old stereoscope of the earliest type. President, Elliott Moses; secretary-treasurer, Miss E. J. Howell.

The Ontario Historical Society's annual meeting for 1945 was held at Kitchener, on June 14 and 15 with a record number in attendance. The first day's programme included an interesting address by Fred Brigden on the artists who in the past had chosen the Grand River Valley as a place for their painting activities, and an address on Homer Watson's work by Dr. Charles W. Jefferys given on the occasion of the society's visit to the late Homer Watson's studio at Doon. Following a dinner that was tendered the visitors by the City of Kitchener on Thursday evening, motion pictures of the Grand River Valley showing its great development in the interests of conservation were presented by Hugh Templin, and coloured slides of the plant life of Waterloo County were shown by F. H. Montgomery. On the last day of the meeting, Major John Barnett presented a most interesting account of his researches into his ancestors of Toronto Township, Peel County; Miss B. Mabel Dunham gave a paper on the historical background of the population of Waterloo County; Dr. Fred C. Hamil contributed a scholarly study of Lord Selkirk's settlement at Baldoon; and at the discussion on local history on the closing afternoon, Miss Elsie M. Murray read a paper stressing the value of a knowledge of a community's background in planning its future, and Mrs. G. Gordon Maynard outlined the work being done by the Women's Institutes of Ontario in preserving historical material.

Members of the Society especially interested in museum work took advantage of the Kitchener meeting to organize themselves as a museum section. Wilfrid Jury was elected chairman, and Dr. E. Milner secretary.

The Society has published volume XXXVI of its *Papers and Records*. Among the ten interesting articles that it contains are: "The Scaddings, a Pioneer Family in York" by T. A. Reed; "Activities of Canadian Patriots in the Rochester District, 1837-1838" by Elsie G. Sumner; "Long Point, Lake Erie: Some Physical and Historical Aspects" by George Laidler; and "Dundurn and Sir Allan MacNab" by T. Melville Bailey. President, George H. Smith; vice-presidents, George Laidler, Ernest Green; secretary, J. J. Talman; treasurer, George W. Spragge.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society's Annual Report for 1943-44 records greatly expanded activities. Special attention has been given to obtaining the records of prominent pioneers while it is still possible to obtain their personal testimony. The Society is compiling the histories of significant districts, those of the Lloydminster district and of the Cypress Hills region being in process of preparation. Accounts of the historic Wood Mountain district, of the International

Boundary Commission that was conducted along the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains in 1872-4, and of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company's land title have been completed. A great deal of work has been done on building up complete records of all Saskatchewan personnel in the Armed Services, and an attempt has been made with considerable success to follow their careers all through the war.

A recent acquisition to the Society of considerable interest are the British Admiralty documents respecting the first discovery of the fate of the tragic Arctic expedition of Sir John Franklin in 1845. President, J. A. Gregory; honorary-treasurer, A. T. Hunter; secretary, Z. M. Hamilton.

La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario. At the meetings of the society during 1944-5 papers were read on the following subjects: "Les Origines de Sturgeon-Falls" by Mrs. J. E. Cousineau; "L'Histoire économique de Sturgeon-Falls" by Dr. George Lévesque; "L'Histoire d'Ottawa" by Mr. Lucien Brault; "Confiance et espoir" by Fr. Lionel Groulx; "L'Œuvre des Sœurs Grises de la Croix à Sudbury" by the Reverend Sr. St-Irénée; "La Fédération des femmes canadiennes-françaises" by Mrs. Hector Langlois; "L'Histoire de Welland" by the Reverend Fr. Louis-Joseph Bouchard; "Vieille Histoire au Nouvel-Ontario" by the Reverend Fr. Lorenzo Cadieux; and "Wikwémikong et l'île Manitouline" by the Reverend Fr. Lorenzo Cadieux. Numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8, of "*Documents Historiques*" have been published. President, Dr. Rodolphe Tanguay; secretaries, the Reverend Fr. L. Cadieux, Lucien Campeau; treasurers, Georges Tittley, Ernest Marcotte.

La Société Historique Franco-Américaine was founded in 1899 to encourage the study of the history of the United States and to exhibit in its true light, the exact part taken by the French race in the evolution and formation of the American people. In 1940 the Society published *Les quarante Ans*, a compilation of the titles and authors of addresses given at its meetings from its foundation to 1940. Annual *Bulletins* were published in 1941, 1942, and 1943. Various other articles and publications have been sponsored by the Society. It has two hundred members from the six New England States who meet twice a year at Boston. President, Dr. J.-Ubalde Paquin; secretary, Antoine Clement.

The "*Thermopylae*" Club of Victoria, British Columbia was founded in 1932 with the object of fostering a love for all things pertaining to ships. The club meets once a month, and papers are read on seagoing experiences. Captain, Alex McDonald; secretary, G. Lee Warner.

The *Upper Canada Railway Society* has been forced to curtail its activities on account of war-time conditions, but published two bulletins during 1944, one of which was an equipment list of the Lake Erie, Northern, and Grand River Railways. President, Albert S. Olver; vice-president, John W. Griffin; acting secretary, William T. Sharp.

Waterloo Historical Society. The society's thirty-second annual report for 1944 contains articles on "An Outline of Historical Geography" by J. W. Watson, "Interesting Botanical Areas of Waterloo County" by F. H. Montgomery, "The Amish Settlement in the Township of Wilmot in the County of Waterloo" by O. Hamilton, and "Homer Watson" by F. E. Page. President, G. V. Hilborn; vice-president, Miss B. M. Dunham; secretary-treasurer, P. Fisher.

